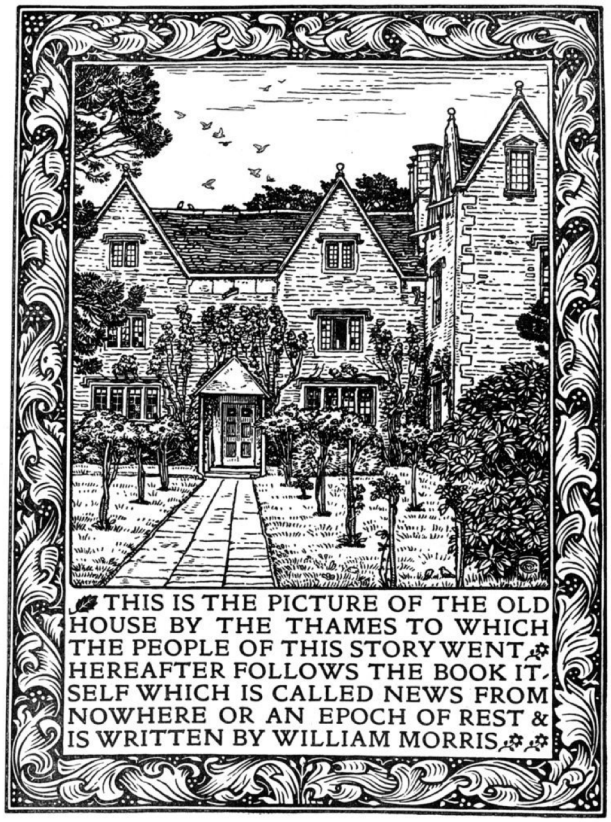
‘CONSULTING THE GENIUS OF THE PLACE’ – KELMSCOTT MANOR AND THE RESTORATION OF PLANTSMEN’S GARDENS.



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ABSTRACT

In garden conservation the focus of protective legislation and guidance is on structures such as terraces, or gardens that have a structural quality to them, for example parterres or 18th century landscapes. Meanwhile the planting in and around these spaces remains largely unlegislated, therefore unprotected. This becomes an issue in the 20th century with the development of plantsmen's gardens, spaces that are created and defined by the creativity of their planting alone. We now have a hugely influential genre of gardens that whilst being an internationally significant art form are not protected as heritage, and due to the ephemeral nature of their plant-based composition are entirely vulnerable to neglect.

Given the absence of support from governing bodies and the lack of literature on the subject, this study aims to uncover the needs of plantsmen's gardens and consider how an approach to their protection may be developed in the future. This will be achieved from the view of restoration of those that have already been lost, to the conservation of those still in existence.

The focus of data will be on interviewing industry professionals, from Historic England, English Heritage, and the National Trust, along with Head gardeners, curators, researchers and garden historians. Given the lack of literature around the subject, and the practical nature of the discipline, it is the opinions and decisions of these individuals that most significantly shape the gardens being discussed.

The restoration of the Kelmscott Manor gardens of William Morris, a progenitor of the plantsmen's garden style, will be used as a study to consider the fallible possibilities of restoring such spaces and as a cautionary tale as to why conservation should be the primary aim in avoiding the need for restoration.

The restoration of Kelmscott Manor gardens doesn't capture the ethos of the originator, or as Alexander Pope states 'the genius of the place.' In so doing this fails to present the potential educational value of the gardens. The restoration does however capture most of the elements of what is considered acceptable in current garden restoration, exposing the limited responsibilities currently in place to protect this heritage.

The lack of documentation of specific plants used in the original planting, and the changing nature of planting combinations over time makes restoration of these gardens problematic, therefore the attention needs to be placed on conservation as a means to avoid the need for restoration.

Plantsmen's gardens are continually evolving creative spaces and therefore their heritage has an intangible element to it. This renders specific and rigid legislation impractical and unworkable. If we are to look at the spaces as creative rather than static, then finding the 'genius of the place' will not be achieved by traditional conservation means of legislation but rather through education. If head gardeners understand the philosophies of the artists in whose gardens they are working, then they can allow change to take place in a way that doesn't lose the influence and ethos of its creator.

The vulnerability of this genre of gardens, and their significance in the chronology of our garden history means that urgent action needs to be taken by industry bodies. This would create a sense of responsibility that would ensure that the legacy of plantsmen's gardens could be conserved.

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INTRODUCTION

The restoration and conservation of historic gardens has evolved over many decades. Projects are assisted by industry guidance, 'good practice' guides, and some legislation in specific areas. Strategies have been largely developed around the needs of parterres like Het Loo in the Netherlands and Hampton Court's Privy garden, around the great landscape architects like Kent (1685-1748), Brown (1716-1783), and Repton (1752-1818), and garden features such as follies, fountains, and terraces. All of these gardens are, at their heart, structural entities and it is easy to see how legislation has evolved to protect and support the conservation of these places. But what if a garden didn't have this structural backbone? What if the thing that made the garden a significant and/or influential work of art was its planting? The kind of planting that without management would cease to exist relatively quickly?

This is a problem that the world of historic gardens is facing, as gardens from the end of the Victorian era into the 20th century became very much more plant-centric. Garden designers and creators in this period worked with plants in a more advanced way than had been seen previously. The art of the gardener became about skilful combinations and communities of plants and flowers, in this era gardeners became plantsmen rather than the architects of the previous generations.

The current guidance for conserving and restoring gardens do not inform the needs of these plantsmen's gardens, and as we come to understand the significance of more and more of our 20th century gardens and their creators, this question looms ever larger on the horizon.

This paper will look at William Morris' Kelmscott Manor Gardens in Oxfordshire as a case study, they are by their nature plant-led gardens, with little or no solid structure (Morris even

eschewed iron fences in favour of short-lived hazel wood screens[1]) their neglect and subsequent restoration act as both a cautionary tale for why conservation of a plant based garden is important, and the limitations of restoration.

In the early 1990's a visit to Kelmscott Manor would not have included a tour of the gardens. At this time, the renowned gardens of William Morris' rural retreat, a progenitor of the arts and crafts style, where medievalism met the English country garden, had all but ceased to exist.[2] During the post war decades with Morris having fallen out of fashion it doesn't take long for a garden such as this, created and understood by the abundance of its planting composition rather than solid frameworks, to return to nature and eventually disappear. It was not until the early 1990's that the Society of Antiquaries undertook a project to restore the gardens.[3]

This paper aims to consider this restoration, undertaken by the firm of Colvin and Moggridge, in the wider context of garden restoration. Where there is a significant personality at play as the originator or designer, one of the aims of a garden restoration is to (attempt to) evoke the poet Alexander Pope's (1688-1744) famous maxim *In all, let nature never be forgot…consult the genius of the place in all*.[4] That is, placing the design in its correct context, or as Graham Stuart Thomas appropriating the phrase in the context of restoration; to reveal the intent and the ethos of the designer or creator.[5] Therefore, in analysing the restoration project and researching archive material, can this restored garden be considered as William Morris would have known it, or intended? Is it even possible to restore a plant-based garden once the vast majority of plants have been lost? This case study will then be considered in the wider context of both garden restoration and conservation, looking at the challenges of protecting plant-based gardens.

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[1] W. Morris, 'Making the best of it.' *Hopes and fears for art*, (London: Book Jungle, 2009) p89
[2] A.Crossley, T.Hassall, P. Salway, 'Kelmscott: Landscape and history' (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2007) p146
[3] Ibid , p.146
[4] P. Hobhouse, 'The story of gardening' (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2002) p.206
[5] G. S. Thomas, 'The restoration of gardens', *Landscape Design*, no. 124, February 1979, pp. 19–22

The reason why this dissertation question is important is that relatively little has been written around the subject, and certainly the heritage industry bodies as a whole have yet to address the issue. The heritage that forms the subject of this study is at great risk and seemingly there is not only a lack of solutions on the table but barely even a discussion. This dissertation aims to address questions that are presently undervalued in the garden heritage debate, and can be considered important due to the vulnerability of the subject in question.

Terminology

There are a few terms used in this paper that are sometimes subject to different interpretations in different contexts, to enable clarity of thought and intent, the following definitions should be taken to represent the words as they are used throughout this paper.

Conservation- As defined in the ICOMOS Burra Charter.[6] '*all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.'* The same meaning, though spoken more cohesively by Holland and Rawles *'Conservation is about negotiating the transition from past to future in such a way as to secure the transfer of maximum significance'*[7]

Restoration- In the Burra Charter this is referred to as returning the existing fabric to a known earlier state, by removing accretions, or reassembling existing components, without the introduction of new structural material.[8] While this definition is appropriate to buildings, it requires that something still exists, and in the majority of cases historic gardens need

[6] J. Watkins, J. Wright, 'The Management and Maintenance of Historic Parks and Gardens' (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007) p.27
[7] A. Holland, K. Rawles, 'values in conservation' *ECOS-a review of conservation* No1: 1993 vol 14
[8] J. Watkins. P.27

reconstructing rather than rehabilitating. Therefore, the term 'Reconstruction' as used by the Burra Charter to mean 'returning a place to a known earlier state using new materials,'[9] is a more appropriate definition for the kind of work that is done in an historic garden context. However, the term 'restoration' in the world of gardens is more widely accepted and understood, even in high profile 'reconstructions' that are simply replicas of original gardens. Therefore, this paper will follow the industry standard in referring to a restoration as returning a garden to a known earlier state, including the introduction of new materials.

Authenticity- while the meaning of this word can be interpreted in a number of different ways, where it is used in this paper it should be referenced in the context that it has been appropriated by the heritage industry, that being of the intentions of the artist, or of the past[10] and more literally as it is referenced by the Oxford English dictionary, that is to be perceived as having a quality that is true or real.

During the different sections of this study it may be noticed that Morris' gardens at Kelmscott Manor are discussed in reference to 20th century gardens, this is not an accident or oversight of the fact that Morris developed the gardens in the last decades of the 19th Century, but is rather an acknowledgement of the fact that these gardens are in some ways a progenitor of the gardening styles that became popular in the 20th Century, and in being, they relate more closely with those gardens than they do to the Victorian style. Whether you define them as Arts and Crafts gardens, Plantsmen's gardens, English Cottage gardens, Wild gardens, Edwardian gardens, or even Medieval-revival gardens, as we will come to see, the problems and solutions in Kelmscott's conservation and restoration inform the argument for protecting 20th century plantsmen's

[9] Ibid
[10] D. Phillips, 'Exhibiting Authenticity' (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p.1

gardens with greater kinship than can be related to their predecessors.

Literature Review

As a relatively new discipline there isn't substantial literature surrounding the conservation of 20th century plantsmen's gardens. If the principles were transferable with building conservation there would be a wealth of literature informing the philosophies and processes involved. An historical overview of which is comprehensively given by Plenderleith,[11] demonstrating that while both disciplines evolved from sporadic beginnings, building conservation has reached levels of professionalism that still eludes garden conservation. Clark[12] gives a comprehensive understanding of the diverse range of skills and data, such as archaeology, forensic and construction surveying, that can be collated not only to fully understand an historic building but also to interpret its significance. She further discusses the variety of stakeholders that have an influence on defining that significance. This concept is developed by Forsythe, who considers the wider interest groups that both influence and threaten building conservation.[13] A concept that is relatable to gardens when considering the ownership bodies and public access models. Forsythe further analyses the critical necessity of research, skills, and training in securing the future of the historic environment.[14] While some of the concepts present in the built environment discipline have general cross-over relevance, it is difficult to directly relate the principles here with the specialist needs of garden conservation and restoration, particularly the non-static nature of gardens, and their need for continual creative input. We might instead consider a comparison

[11] H.J. Plenderleith, 'A history of conservation' *Studies in conservation,* Vol. 43, No.3, 1998, pp. 129-143
[12] K. Clark, 'Informed Conservation: Understanding historic buildings and their landscapes for conservation' (London: English Heritage, 2001)
[13] M. Forsythe, 'Understanding historic building conservation' (Oxford: John Wiley, 2007)
[14] Ibid, p.10

between Japanese renewal conservation and the creativity within garden conservation, the way in which Japanese conservators make restoration visible and part of the ongoing story of the object or building,[15] is perhaps more closely relatable to the creative layers in an historical garden that make up its narrative. As Juniper observes,[16] it is the philosophical respect for impermanence in Japanese culture that values historic items wearing their age, damage and repair outwardly. Impermanence is a key feature in understanding the mastery of plantsmen's gardens, due to their intrinsic transience. The enduring appeal of William Morris in Japan suggests that there is something to be learned from the comparisons between these two worlds.[17]

Trying to transfer the definitions of conservation from different disciplines is difficult and ultimately unhelpful as they do not apply practically to historic gardens. It may be the unique needs of the plantsman's garden as a genre that it has little supporting literature.

A large percentage of literature available on garden conservation and restoration revolve around 18th century landscapes, which have cast a large and lasting influence on garden history, and perhaps diminishes focus on earlier and later periods. Even articles that are centred on restoration in general tend to be more relevant to the restoration of a Capability Brown landscape, if only by focusing on material that relates specifically to such a landscape, for example John Phibbs' article on recording the historic landscape[18], relates to features that would be found in an 18th century landscape, or earlier, making them largely un-relatable in practise to plantsmen's gardens. Some of his conclusions however cross-over and can inform 20th century gardens, for example his statement that the inconclusive nature of the material available can

[15] Y. Saito, 'The Japanese aesthetics of imperfection and insufficiency' *The journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* Vol.55, No.4, 1997, p.377

[16] A. Juniper, 'Wabi Sabi: The Japanese art of impermanence.' (London: Tuttle, 2011)

[17] S. Nakayama, 'The impact of William Morris in Japan. 1904 to the present' *Journal of design history,* Vol.9, No.4, 1996, pp.273-283

[18] J. Phibbs, "An Approach to the Methodology of Recording Historic Landscapes." *Garden History*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1983, pp. 167–175.

create only a crude or part restoration.

John Sales, former garden advisor to the National Trust also casts doubt on the ability of restorations to transfer qualities of the original to the present.[19] His argument focuses on the fallibility of contemporary opinion, considering all restorations to be products of their time, and doubtless current projects will equally be stamped with our present values and assumptions. While this paper looks at different eras in relation to garden restoration and considers the problems attached to each era, it doesn't address the changes in garden styles over these periods. In that regard 20th century gardens are not considered at all. However, he returns to the subject in a later article that does focus on flower gardens, considering their vulnerability and focusing very much on the need for continued stewardship, the emphasis of the paper is very much on creating management plans and recording the plant content of the gardens, referencing species that are iconic to the garden, and others that can be seen as secondary, cyclical or ephemerals.[20] Conclusions in this article rely on a garden remaining consistently in sympathetic ownership. Brent Elliott looks at planting authenticity in relation to historical revivalism, and considers the use of contemporary planting in historically reconstructed gardens in the first half of the 20th century, that set the template for the dismissive approach to planting authenticity. The piece refers to historical revivalism and restoration in the same context, failing to show the significant distinction of revivalism as the adaptation of a period style, and restoration as replicating a specific tableau.[21] In a later paper Elliott devotes more attention to the changing history of garden styles in relation to restoration, and considers the problematic approach to researching

[19] J. Sales, 'Garden Restoration Past and Present.' *Garden History Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1995, pp. 1–9

[20] J. Sales 'Conservation and Management of Historic flower gardens of the 20th century' *Garden History*, vol.37, No.2, p222

[21] B. Elliott, 'Historical Revivalism in 20th century.' *Garden History,* vol.28, no.1, 2000, pp.17-31

period planting.[22] Surprisingly, given how close to the topic this article goes, there is no consideration of the dynamic shift towards plant-based gardens of the 20th century and how that might impact on the restoration principles that this journal article considers. George Plumptre[23] gets a little closer to looking at the effects of changing eras, the vulnerability of plantsmen's gardens is touched on when considering gardens such as Margery Fish's (1892-1969) East Lambrook Manor in Somerset,[24] and Lawrence Johnston's (1871-1958) Serre de la Madone in France,[25] but he doesn't unveil the complexities of the debate.

It can be expected that modern history will have had less study devoted to it than previous periods, but there is a surprising lack of literature on the subject given the vulnerability of the gardens in question. To highlight this dearth of material, a Garden Trust conference was held in June 2017 '20th century gardens overlooked, undervalued, and at risk.'[26] A presentation from Deborah Evans entitled 'Plants without Architecture - The challenges of registering 20th century plantsmen's gardens,' considered their vulnerability in relation to the current Historic England legislation and the need to acknowledge them as a uniquely vulnerable entity. Deborah Evans has kindly given permission to be interviewed for this paper.

John Watkins & John Wright's book[27] focuses largely on garden conservation practices, while looking at restoration from the perspective of the complexities of historic layers, and the problems of deciding what is to be restored. Their solutions echo the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) guidelines of writing comprehensive Conservation Management Plans (CMP).[28] The

[22] B. Elliott, 'Changing fashions in the conservation and restoration of gardens in Great Britain', *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche du Chateau de Versailles,* 20th September 2010
[23] G. Plumptre, 'Heritage Gardens', (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2007)
[24] Ibid. p.146
[25] Ibid. p.46
[26] G. Mawrey, (ed) 'Historic Gardens Newsletter', July 2017, No. 45
[27] J. Watkins, J. Wright, 'The management and maintenance of historic parks' (London: Frances Lincoln, 2007)
[28] Heritage Lottery Fund 'Conservation plan guidance' October 2012

book also signposts legislation bodies' guidance and advice, which forms a wealth of literature in itself; Historic England's 'scheduling selection guide'[29] overviews the questions around designation, English Heritage 'restoration guidelines of 2008,'[30] offers the most comprehensive analysis of presenting cultural heritage value, by considering topics relating to the significance of place, also their 'landscape advice note.'[31] Other significant industry literature include the HLF guidance on conservation plans, the ICOMOS 'charter for places of cultural significance,'[32] and the National Trusts 'project management handbook.'[33] Key heritage texts like Harrison,[34] and Corsane,[35] point to this type of industry guidance and 'best practise,' as significant instruments in not only the management of conservation but also its interpretation to the public.

The use of CMP's in devising a garden strategy is a repeated element of this guidance, Phibbs' letter in the garden history journal,[36] states a wider need to unify their structures and archive CMP's in a way that creates a retrievable national record.

The wider value that historic garden conservation offers is highlighted in Nikolaus Pevsner's 1955 Reith Lectures,[37] where he considers the application of ideas from historical garden theorists in matters such as town planning and national development, and makes a statement that cuts through the debate in garden conservation between maintaining authenticity and welcoming creativity *'There is plenty of precedent to make use of…not by copying but by applying the same*

[29] Historic England selection guides. Found at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/selection-criteria/scheduling-selection/
[30] English Heritage, 'Conservation principles, policies, and guidance', 2008
[31] J. White, 'Landscape advice note' *Historic England,* September 2013
[32] ICOMOS 'Charter for places of cultural significance' *The Burra Charter,* 2013
[33] The National Trust 'Project management handbook' February 2012
[34] R. Harrison, 'Heritage: Critical approaches' (London: Routledge, 2013), p.4
[35] G. Corsane, 'Heritage museums and galleries: an introductory reader' (London: Routledge, 2006), p.239
[36] J. Phibbs, 'Conservation management plans for historic landscapes: an open letter' *Garden History*, vol.39, No.1, 2011, pp 124-126
[37] N. Pevsner 'Reith Lectures: The Englishness of English art' 1955. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00h9llv

principles, the same great English principles.' and in referencing back to Pope's genius loci as not only geographical but also historical, social and aesthetic.

Methodology

On researching the restoration of Kelmscott Manor gardens, it became apparent that there was very little literature to support the questions around this kind of garden, a plantsman's garden. Therefore, the questions for this paper were formulated because the answers weren't out there. In this context, with a question that has little supportive literature and unknown conclusions, the study will be undertaken through the method of grounded theory.

Grounded theory merges the processes of data collection and analysis, allowing the researcher to continually move between one and the other in an attempt to ground the analysis in the data.[38] This is in contrast to other methodologies such as survey/field research and ethnography, that form a series of steps that the researcher follows from formulating their hypothesis, to collecting data, followed by analysis, and finally either supporting or refuting the original hypothesis. The lack of theoretical literature on the subject makes this approach less helpful in this study. Grounded theory will make it possible to continually review the data, and change direction as the data may require. Within this principle, the study will be based on inductive research, in that it is theory developing as data is gathered, rather than deductive which is theory deducing, more appropriate in methods where a hypothesis is already determined.

Survey based research could have been involved, had the study a more quantitative base or involved a method such as case study research where causation is explored through finding underlying principles, however this would not have been applicable here as the answers would not inform a subject that has no preconceived hypothesis and little supporting literature.

[38] B. Glaser, 'Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research' (London: Routledge, 2017) p.101

Methodological triangulation will be achieved by the use of different data methods, involving both primary and secondary research data. A significant contribution to primary data will involve first hand interviews, these will be far reaching and conducted with senior figures from the property, the restoration team, contributing members of legislative bodies and large heritage groups, Head Gardeners of plantsmen's gardens, and other industry experts. Further primary data includes period and contemporary commentary of the gardens, found in letters, diaries and other archives, pictorial archive materials such as photographs, maps, works of art, and accumulated receipts and purchases for the garden. This will be set against data from the guidance and policy documents from Heritage and garden bodies such as, the Gardens Trust, Historic England, and the National Trust, along with the qualitative commentary of garden critics such as Sir Roy Strong and members of the National Trust Board.

By using Kelmscott Manor as an initial case study it is intended to show how a high profile garden restoration process works, or not, as a representation of the current state of garden restoration in general. This information can then be assessed within the wider context of garden restoration, by looking at the qualitative data of current literature and further opinion from first hand interviews.

Gardens are an art discipline and therefore the largest part of interpretation and analysis will always be qualitative. Answers can be formulated as to how successful garden restorations generally have been, and what needs to be done in the realm of garden conservation in order to protect important gardens from the need for restoration, however these conclusions are inevitably subjective in nature.

The gardens involved in the following study will all be visited and observed in person, following

the example of W.G. Hoskins[39] of the necessity to be immersed in an environment in order to be able to read it.

The reason for placing emphasis on the interviews within the industry and the garden history environment is that it is the decisions they make that result in the gardens we have. They have the most direct impact on the gardens in question, and therefore it is their opinions which ultimately shape the debate.

Resources

Documentary evidence of the gardens in Morris' day is sparse and is spread far and wide. Pictorial documents are particularly informative and consist of photography and artist representations such as the paintings of Marie Spartali Stillman (1844-1927) and the drawings of E.H. New (1871-1931). The bulk of the photographic record is made up of images housed in the Kelmscott archives, those published in *Country Life*, online records, and a recently discovered archive collection housed by May Morris' companion Mary Lobb in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.[40]

The views of William Morris come under two categories; his 'real-life' observations as found largely in his letters,[41] where he describes what he observes in the gardens, and secondly his 'philosophical' opinions of how gardens should be, which have been collected from his lectures and writings. This latter category does not necessarily represent what was actually present at Kelmscott, however they give at least a picture of what he desired for Kelmscott, and given his documented belief in the perfection of the Kelmscott gardens it could be considered that their physical presence was the originator for the idealised images of which he wrote, we might

[39] W.G. Hoskins, 'The making of the English landscape', (London: Little Toller Books, 2013)
[40] Mary Lobb Archive, LLGC National Library of Wales, accessed 12/9/17, per. Comms Simon Evans
[41] W. Morris, 'Collected Letters' (Surrey: Princetown University Press, 1984)

envisage the abundant gardens in his novel *News from Nowhere* as being described from the loved gardens he saw before him, just as the Manor was similarly described, from reality rather than imagination.

The Kelmscott archives house documents such as garden purchase receipts and plans. Many other resources are referenced, including observations from visitors in letters and memorials, the letters of Jane Morris,[42] Rossetti,[43] May Morris, and other existing literature.

Why Kelmscott? - Famous Gardens

'Our emotions are somehow stirred in those places in which the feet of those whom we love and admire have trodden. Wherefore even Athens delights us not so much through its magnificent buildings and its exquisite works of ancient art as through the memory of its great men: t'was here they dwelt, 'twas here they sat, 'twas here they engaged in their philosophical discussions. and with reverence I contemplate their tombs.' Ciccero[44]

While the tourist route around literary homes in the UK is well-established, from its 'commercial' origins around Shakespeare in the 1700's[45] to a vast network in the present day. The concept of Writer's gardens has garnered less attention both in academic study and in tourist footprint. Interesting given the significant bonds and connections that many writers had with their gardens, either as creative outlets like; Scott's Abbotsford, Wordsworth's Dove Cottage, and Kipling's Batemans. Or as their writing workplaces; like Woolf's Monk House and Roald Dahl's Gipsy House. Gardens can offer enthusiasts of the writers in question a glimpse of an entirely different aspect of their idol's character, from the informed and expected auras inside their homes and studies. The garden is very often so central to a writer's life that it cannot help

[42] J. Morris, 'Collected Letters' (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2013)
[43] D.G. Rossetti, 'His family letters' (London: Adamant, 2006)
[44] H. Hendrix, 'Writer's houses and the making of memory' (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2008) p.15
[45] S. West, 'Understanding heritage in Practice' (Manchester: University Press, 2010) pp 143-154.

but inform and inspire the visitor in some way as to a previously unknown aspect of their character. There is no mistaking Leonard Woolf's priorities as he refused to interrupt his Iris planting to go into the house and hear a speech of Hitlers', as he correctly surmised 'the irises will be flowering long after Hitler is dead.'[46] As Historic England states 'The way an individual made a garden often provides insight into their personality. or demonstrates their political or cultural affiliations, it can suggest aspects of their character...'[47] It could be argued that the very personal and expressive nature of gardening as an art form means that sometimes a garden can reveal more about a person than their house.

There is a further dimension when relating literary tourism to a figure like William Morris, in that he actively desired for his homes and gardens to communicate and represent his philosophical thoughts and ideologies. Materials he chose had high symbolic value, acting as 'recipients for ideals.'[48] They were in some ways a visual tool in presenting his ideas, and therefore these spaces are *intended* to speak for the artist.

And so therefore we are to look upon Kelmscott Manor as having a two-fold purpose, that of a purely literary tourist destination, a tool for admirers to stimulate their imagination and connect with their idols, and further as a visual document from a philosopher as a testament for how we can live.

[46] L. Woolf 'Downhill all the way', (London: Hogarth Press, 1967) p.254
[47] English Heritage, 'Conservation principles, policies, and guidance', 2008
[48] V. Fortunati, H. Hendrix (ed) 'William Morris' Houses and the shaping of aesthetic socialism' *Writers houses and the making of memory* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008) p.163

PART 1 - GARDEN RESTORATION OVERVIEW

The Birth of Garden Restoration

The origins of garden restoration date back to the end of the 18th century and it is an irony that the birth of garden restoration came about as a reaction against the gardening style of a figure who, in the present day, is one of the most revered and fiercely conserved of all landscape architects/gardeners. The English landscape garden of the 18th century, masterfully designed most notably by Capability Brown (1716-1783) took aristocratic estates by storm in the mid 1700's, contoured earth and ha-has appeared across the land, tying great houses with their wider estates in a continuous flow of perfected countryside. This evocative scenery, still admired today, with an exemplar representative at Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire, has a guilty secret, that is the majority of these landscape gardens were born from acts of destruction, earlier garden history was destroyed to make way for them, historic garden features, designs, terraces, even churches and dwellings, were dismantled to make way for the new style. Whether this was wanton destruction or increasing the economic value of the land is currently being re-evaluated as part of garden history discourse.[49] Regardless, towards the end of the 18th century there was a realisation that something had been lost, the picturesque style, embracing more natural ruggedness and anti-classical sentiment grew in popularity and a debate that was public enough to be parodied by Jane Austen[50], led by Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829)[51] of Herefordshire, sowed the seeds for undoing the earlier 'damage' in what would become the early stages of garden restoration.

However, it would be another 150 years before garden restoration and conservation would look anything like we know it today. One of the first big shifts in perception came when the National

[49] J. Phibbs, 'Misconceptions' *Garden History Journal,* vol.44, Autumn 2016, p.177
[50] J. Austen, 'Northanger Abbey' (Sweden: Wisehouse classics, 2016 reprint) pp.61-62
[51] U. Price, 'An essay on the picturesque: as compared with the sublime and the beautiful' (Cambridge: University Press, 2014 reprint)

Trust took on its first garden in 1947, Lawrence Johnston's Hidcote Manor Gardens in Gloucestershire. Even then the concept of garden conservation was not established as the Trust set about selling off the renaissance style garden furniture that was not considered to be in vogue at the time,[52] an act that would have then been inconceivable for an interior but somehow considered acceptable in a garden. Shortly after, the National Trust, along with the Royal Horticultural Society, set up a joint committee to compile a list of gardens sufficiently important to be taken on by the Trust.[53]

Graham Stuart Thomas (1909-2003), an energetic exponent of garden restoration development, was employed by the National Trust in 1955 and became responsible for many restored gardens in the Trust's catalogue, Thomas advocated recreating gardens in the period style that related most closely with each property. In 1979 Thomas listed five actions that the Trust should follow, they give a good insight into garden conservation at that moment in time, *'(1) the search for records of the site; (2) holding processes, or remedial measures to ensure the stability of garden structures and the protection of trees; (3) calculation of the size of the restoration, to ensure that any project kept within the budget determined by existing resources; (4) 'given quantities', i.e. 'the soil, the climate and all attendant matters', defining the constraints within which any project had to work; and (5) consulting the 'genius of the place.'*[54] This list is familiar in tone to the conservation of gardens up to the present time, i.e. to shore-up and protect any assets and structures, followed by a budget-led consultation on how to take it forward. In the final point Thomas is repurposing Alexander Pope's phrase to suggest that the restorers or conservators try to engage with the garden's originator, to understand the style, intentions and philosophies of the garden's creator.

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[52] B. Elliott, Paragraph 9.
[53] B. Elliott, 'The Royal Horticultural Society: a History, 1804–2004' (Chichester: Phillimore & Co Ltd, 2004), pp. 344–5.
[54] Graham Stuart Thomas, 'The restoration of gardens', *Landscape Design*, no. 124, February 1979, pp. 19–22

In the 1970's, archaeological excavations became a more prominent part of garden restoration, with aerial photography and the digging of structural remains adding to the understanding of a garden's past. The arrival of garden archaeology led to high profile restorations like Het Loo in the Netherlands and Hampton Court Palace. The difficulty of fully reconstructing a garden from archaeological record as one might an object or a building, is a possible reason for the lack of interest or pursuit in archaeology of gardens up to this point.[55] However bringing this partial evidence into the story and analysing it along with other documentary evidence and knowledge of period trends, can only enrich an understanding of a garden's development. The caveat to this is acknowledging that bringing partial data such as this to a cultivated site will involve a vast amount of interpretation,[56] subject to the same perception and cultural bias that renders all interpretation vulnerable to subjective opinion. By the 1990's English heritage made it mandatory to dig trenches as part of the planning process in garden restoration,[57] and archaeological record now holds an essential place in garden restoration planning.

In 1983, Historic England, previously English Heritage, created the register of historic parks and gardens of special historic interest in England, a century after the first buildings were scheduled in the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1881. This act marked another step towards legitimizing garden restoration and conservation by grading gardens in a way that gives them protected status in matters of planning. The listing of gardens doesn't however extend to protecting their character in the manner that similarly listed buildings are afforded.

A game-changer in the status of garden restoration came in the 1990's with the lost gardens of Heligan project in Cornwall, masterminded by Sir Tim Smit. Heligan's story was a familiar one

[55] N.F. Miller, K.L. Gleason (eds) 'The archaeology of garden and field' (New York: University of Pennsylvania press, 1997) p.3
[56] Ibid. p.4
[57] B. Elliott, 'Changing fashions in the conservation and restoration of gardens in Great Britain', *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche du Chateau de Versailles,* 20th September 2010. Paragraph 21.

in the world of garden history, a great estate left to ruin when the majority of its gardeners went off to war. Yet the gardens and the story of their revival became a commercial and media success story that has become the gold standard as the viability and justification of garden restoration. Heligan, which by 2005 had received 3 million visitors and spawned a best-selling book about its story[58], more than satisfies the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS) principles of selection for listing buildings by "illustrating important aspects of England's social, economic, cultural or military history."[59] Offering as it does, a chance for visitors to learn first-hand about social and national history.

A key point to note at Heligan is that the *process* of restoration was as much a part of public interest as the 'finished' gardens, Heligan wasn't putting historic gardens in the public consciousness, it was putting the act of restoration there.

Current Approach to Garden Restoration

Garden conservation does not have the rigid framework around it that has evolved for building conservation, through planning laws and statutory bodies. There is no Society of the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) for gardens, no planning consent restrictions for changing or maintaining planting as would be found for adapting listed buildings. Listed gardens under Historic England might protect the garden from outside threats, i.e. developers, but it does not necessarily protect them from the ideas and ambitions of their own custodians. It is not an exaggeration to say that an owner could submerge an entire 'Capability' Brown landscape under conifers and there is no legislative/planning control to prevent them from doing so.[60]

[58] T. Smit, 'The lost gardens of Heligan' (London: Orion, 1997)
[59] DCMS, 'Principles of selection for listing buildings' March 2010
[60] K. Auston of Historic England, In interview via email with G. Stoneystreet 20.7.17

The arrival of the Conservation Management Plan (CMP) in the last couple of decades has improved the recording of information about a landscape and forms a solid base upon which to build a conservation programme.[61] While these are driven very often by a need to obtain grants and financial aid rather than a desire on the part of an estate owner to understand their landscape[62] they nonetheless form an important part of understanding gardens and landscape both individually and combined nationally. Usually commissioned to outside agencies this introduces another tier of professional input into the thoroughness of surveying.

What historically significant gardens depend upon is responsible ownership and the concerned stewardship of garden historians and key institutions such as the Gardens Trust. The aim of garden historians up to this point, without an obligatory framework, has been to develop strategies and principles to 'ensure that each garden retains its significance in relation to its history, the distinctiveness of the place, and the values and gardening style of the person(s) by whom it was created, i.e. the qualities that made the garden worthy of preservation.'[63] Though good intention is the only thing that will achieve this.

Outside of enforcement there are several sources of guidance available to historic gardens when setting about restoration and conservation, these come from three main areas; legislative organisations, ownership bodies, and funding bodies.

Legislative Organisations

The primary example here is Historic England, though as has already been stated they exist in the form of guidance rather than legislation when it comes to planted gardens. The listing

[61] J. Phibbs, 'Conservation management plans for historic landscapes: an open letter' *Garden History*, vol.39, No.1, 2011, pp 124
[62] Ibid. p.125
[63] J. Sales 'Conservation and Management of Historic flower gardens of the 20th century' *Garden History*, vol.37, No.2, p.218

process for parks and gardens relates to landscapes or structures, and so can influence the way a garden feature is restored, such as a terrace or folly, but not the planting. This allows for their involvement in overseeing many historic gardens but does not extend to plantsmen's gardens, except where they feature built structures. For example, in an Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) and Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932) collaboration, Historic England might take an active role in the restoration of a Lutyens' terrace, but not in Jekyll's planting. Their many publications offer support and advice, particularly when trying to understand the significance of a garden.

Ownership Bodies

Many historic properties are owned or managed by umbrella organisations that produce their own framework and guidance in relation to conservation, English Heritage, the Society of Antiquaries and numerous individual trusts fit into this group, the National Trust (NT) however represent many of the most well-known gardens in the UK outside of private ownership. While the National Trust played a significant part in the history of garden restoration in the 20th Century they face some of the greatest criticism in achieving authenticity. Highlighted by Graham Stuart Thomas' somewhat non-academic approach to assigning 'period' gardens to each respective NT property in the 1960's and 70's,[64] his planting methodology that focused strategically on low maintenance rather than authenticity,[65] the more recent accusations of turning gardens into public leisure spaces[66], the layers of bureaucracy that inhibit decision making, and the sourcing of plants from a central nursery encouraging a generic flavour to the gardens in the NT portfolio. It could be argued that the cause of individualistic historic gardens is not optimally placed in large umbrella organisations.

[64] B. Elliott, 'Changing fashions in the conservation and restoration of gardens in Great Britain', *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche du Chateau de Versailles,* 20th September 2010. Paragraph 20
[65] Dr Noel Kingsbury, in interview with G Stoneystreet. 9/10/17
[66] Sir Roy Strong, speaking on BBC Radio4 The world this weekend, 20/8/17

Independent trusts, without the weight of responsibility that an organisation like the National Trust has, can often more freely engage with garden restoration. Those trusts that grow around a specific garden can become the safest environment in which an historic garden can flourish, be that through the guise of conservation like the Charleston Trust, or full restoration such as the Aberglasney Trust, which with the help of public and private funding performed what has become a celebrated restoration. The financial vulnerability of a smaller trust as opposed to a large organisation however, suggests that the optimum situation for an historic garden is not so clear-cut.

A further example of ownership is that of hospitality horticulture,[67] William Robinson's gardens at Gravetye Manor in Sussex (fig.21) are currently managed as part of a hotel and restaurant complex. This exclusive business has a symbiotic relationship with the garden, the hotel gains from offering its guests a unique experience, and its restaurant being provided with produce from the large kitchen garden,[68] while the garden gains from the financial input of a commercial business. The benefits of this include significantly smaller visitor numbers than public gardens, allowing visitors to stay and interact with the gardens, ultimately developing a stronger bond with the space.[69] The current head gardener captures the experimental ethos of Robinson whilst also having the freedom to interpret layers of history in a way that a garden under a public spotlight is unable to. Rosemary Verey's Barnsley House Gardens in Gloucestershire is another example of this model. The risk with this ownership structure however is that the future of the gardens is dependent upon the continued success of a commercial business.

[67] Tom Coward, Head Gardener at Gravetye Manor, in interview with G Stoneystreet, 21/9/17
[68] Ibid
[69] Ibid

Funding Bodies

In the current political climate, the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) is the primary source for heritage funding, Historic England and private trusts also fit into this category. The granting of HLF and other trusts money can be one of the most secure ways for a garden restoration project to fulfil its potential. A specification based on a comprehensive Conservation Management Plan (CMP) would normally have to be approved, giving the fullest weight to historical accuracy and heritage significance, balanced against factors such as cost and availability. The provisions of the grant usually states that the project must be carried out in strict accordance with the specifications initially laid out. This scenario gives the best possible chance for a restoration project to be achieved with all of its perceived authenticity.

The restoration is also affected by the manner in which the garden was created, as this has strong influence on how both restoration and conservation might be approached, for example there are gardens with a full design record, usually as a commission, a good example of this are the gardens of Gertrude Jekyll whose planting schemes were generally designed on paper,[70] and in some cases Jekyll never even visited the gardens physically, for example Hestercombe in Somerset. Then there are those gardens that evolved piecemeal rather than by complete design, sometimes these happened by altering pre-existing gardens, resulting in a garden that has elements from more than one era, for example; Powis Castle, in Powys. The final category are owner-gardens, those evolved by the owner, developed over time, for example Hidcote Manor, in Gloucestershire, as mentioned previously. A slight variation again on this are the gardens that remained in the same family over time and saw continual renewal, though perhaps in a way that

[70] R. Bisgrove, 'The Gardens of Gertrude Jekyll' (California: University Press, 2000) p.6

maintained the garden style and philosophy, for example Rodmarton Manor in Gloucestershire. Each of these approaches in garden development result in a need for a nuanced approach to their conservation and restoration.

There are other key factors that influence the approach to current restoration. Firstly, funding triage; if you consider the average historic property, the cost of neglecting a building would be significantly higher than that of the garden and therefore the property manager will almost always prioritise the building.[71] There is also the cost of ongoing maintenance, for example the restoration at Painshill in Surrey, the mission statement deriving from the CMP involves maintaining the gardens as their creator Charles Hamilton knew them in his short period of 1738-1773 at the gardens. This involves replacing Cedar of Lebanon (*Cedrus libani*) trees approximately every thirty years in order that they remain at a size compatible with Hamilton's design.[72] A long term commitment to authenticity such as this, that holds back natural plant timespans, requires a financial structure well beyond that of the original restoration.
Finally, there is understanding the layers of history to ascertain which period is to be restored, if there is not a clear cultural significance to a specific period in its history, then there are layers of historical development and change to consider.

[71] G. Chitty, D. Baker, (eds) 'Managing historic sites and buildings' (London: Routledge, 1999) p.129
[72] Andy Mills, Head Gardener at Painshill. In interview with G Stoneystreet 21/9/17

PART 2 - THE RESTORATION OF KELMSCOTT MANOR GARDENS

Morris and the garden

There are many occupations attributed to William Morris; socialist, writer, poet, pattern designer, printer, craftsman, building conservationist… However, one title less often given to the polymath is gardener, and yet Morris was as passionate about the designs and philosophies of a garden as he was a building. He was as learned in the art of gardening as any of the other arts, 'of flowers and vegetables and fruit trees he knew all the ways and capabilities'[73] and most importantly, he was as influential in the development of garden design as he was in the progressing of his other chief interests. One of the reasons for his lack of appreciation in this area may fall to the fact that the 20th century was relatively cruel to Morris' gardens. For lack of appreciation and perceived value, in the second half of the century his gardens had fallen into disrepair, as also, but to a lesser extent, had the properties attached to them. A bizarre twist of fate, given that in some ways these gardens were the progenitors of the most popular and influential garden styles of the following century.

Much of what drove Morris as an artist and philosopher was derived from botanical form, he had a place within a line of philosophical and artistic thought that was purely biomimetic in its focus and worship, starting with Augustus Pugin (1812-1852), who believed the first principle of design should always take its form from nature,[74] as medieval artists had. The same devotion to botanical thought ran through John Ruskin, Christopher Dresser,[75] who was a botanist before a designer, Morris' cohorts in the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood who worked by their own botanically apposite phrase 'truth to nature,' all manifesting in Morris' output. When you

[73] J.W. Mackail, 'The life of William Morris' (Oxford: University press, 1950) p.148
[74] A.W. Pugin 'Floriated Ornament' (London: Richard Dennis, New ed 1994)
[75] C. Dresser, 'Principles of decorative design' (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1973)

consider Morris' body of work, vast and diverse as it is, nature and botany are the cornerstones of his thinking. His designs, his architectural tastes, even his anti-industrial charges and socialism had at their heart a desire for all men to live at one with, and have access to, nature, connected to the land. Much of his work had gardens as their emotional cornerstones. In his novel *News from Nowhere* it is the site of the garden super-abundantly dressing the homestead that performed as the idealised image of life.[76] His lectures, essays, and novel repeatedly refer to an idealism for how gardens should be, how they should appear, how they should function, be lived in, and ultimately what they represent to the life of man.

The physical act of creating gardens was something that Morris had known all his life, he'd kept his own garden since childhood, developing his sense of flower colour, texture, scent, structure and life cycles,[77] and never thought of his houses outside the wider contexts of their gardens. Morris believed that a house and garden were meant to exist in unison, so much so that the garden should appear as part of the house,[78] or even the clothes of it.[79]

The influence of Morris as a garden designer begins at Red House, where the house and garden were designed in collaboration with the architect Phillip Webb. (1831-1915) 'The most famous building of the late 19th century'[80] is how Muthesius described it, and such lofty praise gives a hint as to the roller-coaster of both prestige and neglect that the design of Red House and its gardens has endured since it was created in the 1870's. Somehow this very simple domestic dwelling has been at one time or another described as the progenitor of the Queen Anne revival, or the arts and crafts movement, as well as the first modernist house, whilst somehow managing

[76] W. Morris, 'News from Nowhere' (London: Thomas Nelson & Son, 1941) p.275
[77] F. MacCarthy, 'William Morris: A life for our time' (London: Faber & Faber, 1994) p.8
[78] W. Morris, 'Making the best of it. A lecture' *Hopes and fears for art*, (London: Book Jungle, 2009) p89
[79] Ibid
[80] S. Muthesius, 'The High-Victorian movement in Architecture' (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972) p.203

to be a gothic revival throwback.[81] Muthesius' influential *Das Englische Haus* celebrated the domestic ideology of Red House, and in taking the style back to his native Germany as the example of the idealised domestic dwelling, mastered in England, he understood that rather than the over-arching style philosophy, what Morris was looking for was the domestic ideology of a house and garden in harmony.[82]

'*The first private house of the new artistic culture, the first house to be conceived and built as a unified whole inside and out, the very first example in the history of the modern house*.'[83]

While some denied Red House the esteem of its influence, other publications such as those by Betjeman,[84] McGrath[85] and Pevsner[86] firmly place Red House as a modernist pioneer. While the argument as to whether or not it was a significant progenitor of a design movement is a subject that requires its own study, it is certainly one of the earliest examples of what came to be defined as Arts and Crafts architecture and gardens, a design style rooted firmly in British history and gothic medievalism, and a marker in the synchronised design of house and garden. The garden, designed as a series of rooms within an orchard setting, placed emphasis on medieval details that related to the medieval art he was engaged with at the time[87] and considered to be the first of the 'modern square plots and trained hedge type that are now so well known'[88] and included a significant number of native species.

Later the gardens of Kelmscott maintained the layout of rooms but were less formal in structure and composition, less Medieval herber, and more 'plantsman.' Kelmscott elaborates on the ideas of `Red House' in embracing his own evolving views on the life of the working man, as the

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[81] N. Cooper, 'Red House: Some architectural Histories' *Architectural History,* Vol. 49, 2006, p.215
[82] S. Muthesius, 'Das Englische Haus' (Dresden: Fachbuchverlag, 2016)
[83] S. Muthesius, 'The English House' (London: Harper-Collins, 1979) p.17
[84] J. Betjeman, 'Ghastly good taste' (London: Chapman & Hall, 1933)
[85] R. McGrath, '20th Century Houses' (London: Faber & Faber, 1934)
[86] N. Pevsner, 'Pioneers of the Modern Movement' (London: Faber & Faber 1936)
[87] F. MacCarthy, p.265
[88] W.R. Lethaby, 'Philip Webb and his work' (Oxford: University Press, 1935), p.28

Kelmscott gardens were intrinsically linked to the wider understanding of lifestyle, community, productivity and abundance.

It was Morris' belief in the garden as a continuity of the house, as a domestic idyll, as a paradise of abundance in a formal structure, that had influence on the developments of garden design. His 1879 lecture '*Making the best of it*'[89] is where Morris sets out his stall, giving clear advice of how a garden should appear 'both orderly and rich' and 'look like part of the house.'[90] Morris also contributed to William Robinson's magazine *The Garden*. Robinson's *wild garden*[91] was published in 1870 and finds compatible ideology with Morris as they both moved against the formality of Victorian gardens and exotic carpet bedding that dominated garden design at the time. The use of uniform plants en-masse appeared to Morris as a disrespect for nature *'...grown together profusely, in order I suppose, to show that even flowers can be thoroughly ugly*.'[92] The essence of Morris' garden philosophy can be found in several popular garden publications of the 1890's, including John Sedding, whose *Garden crafts old and new book*[93] extolled Morris' ideas. Perhaps he is found most significantly in the arts and crafts garden style, that typifies Morris' careful appreciation for balancing abundance with structure.

The most lasting contribution to garden design can arguably be found in his influence on Gertrude Jekyll, who admired the philosophies of both Ruskin and Morris, both of whom she met and debated with,[94] and whose theories can be found in the backbone of all her work and interests. Fiona MacCarthy may have slightly over-embellished the significance as she questioned whether Jekyll would even exist without Morris,[95] perhaps undermining the singular artistic vision of Jekyll's impressionist planting style and its contribution to garden design. But

[89] W. Morris, 'Making the best of it.' *Hopes and fears for art*, (London: Book Jungle, 2009)
[90] Ibid
[91] W. Robinson, 'The Wild Garden' (London: The garden office, 1881)
[92] W. Morris, p.89
[93] J.D. Sedding, 'Garden craft, old and new' (London: Kegan, Trench & Trubner, 1895)
[94] G. Jekyll, L. Weaver, 'Arts & Crafts gardens' (London: Garden art press, 1981) p.8
[95] F. MacCarthy, p.165

there is an underlying truth that the presence of Morris can be found in the gardens and influences of Jekyll. For that reason alone, Morris' gardens are important conservation subjects in their own rights, even without the wider significance of Morris' oeuvre.

Given the popularity and significance of the arts and crafts garden in the 20th Century, and its variants; the cottage garden, and the Edwardian garden, both Red House and Kelmscott are integral elements in the chronology of English garden style and design.

The Kelmscott Gardens Restoration

A brief report[96] in 1993 suggested development of the garden should be explored, acknowledging that a key element in understanding Kelmscott was missing. In 1993 the Society of Antiquaries commissioned the firm Colvin and Moggridge, from nearby Filkins, to oversee a restoration of the gardens, with a view to evoking Morris and his associates. The initial layout proposals (fig.2) involved reintroducing the distinct subdivisions of the grounds based on historical records including the 1876 Ordnance survey map and EH New's 1890 drawing (fig.1) these included the front garden, the kitchen garden, the orchard and the mulberry garden. The layout of the paths in the Mulberry and front gardens follow those indicated on the ordnance map, while a long straight path along the north end of the property has been added, and the path around the north of the orchard left out.[97] During the course of construction some base-works were discovered along the mulberry garden paths, supporting the correct original location.[98] The restoration will be discussed by looking at the garden as a series of rooms, and taking the garden as a tour, room by room.

[96] 'Kelmgard 1.3.93' Housed in the Kelmscott Manor Archives
[97] A. Crossley, p.150
[98] Ibid. p.154

Front Garden

Depicted in the famous image on the frontispiece of Morris' utopian novel *News from Nowhere*, this is perhaps the most familiar image of Kelmscott Manor, and the restoration aimed to work to this design.[99] It had been prioritised for restoration before funding became available to do the entire garden.

Given its familiarity it is potentially the least controversial in terms of restoration. However, the cover image from E.H.New is not the only period image for this area of the garden. Period images (fig.3) including Taunt's photograph of 1890 shows a great deal more 'abundance' than New's image, and given Morris' description of 'super-abundance' in planting in that same book, one could surmise that New undertook a little 'garden maintenance' of his own, in presenting the garden more tidily in his image. Colvin and Moggridge chose to follow New's image for the restoration given that this would be most familiar to visitors.[100] While this decision may have been a step away from presenting the gardens as Morris would have known them, Historic England's restoration guidelines state that sustainable management begins with understanding the cultural heritage value of the site, which in turn forms it's significance.[101] In that context, New's frontispiece, inextricably linked with the book, potentially has the cultural significance to justify its prioritised use in the restoration project.

The rows of standard roses running either side of the central path were some of the few plants still present in the garden before the restoration. They were not themselves 'originals' having been replanted in 1968[102] suggesting that even during the era where the gardens were not

[99] 'Strategies for the future 20/12/93' Kelmscott archive
[100] A. Crossley, p.154
[101] English Heritage, 'Conservation principles, policies, and guidance', 2008. P.14
[102] Kelmscott Manor Guidebook 1969, Kelmscott Archive

considered important, this iconic image was still an essential element of Kelmscott. In poor condition at the time of the restoration, these roses were replaced as part of the project, the new roses were made up entirely of modern varieties, bred by David Austin (*Rosa Eglantyne, R.Edward Elgar, R.Mary Rose, R.Anne Boleyn, R.Heritage, R.Scepter'd Isle, R.Cottage Rose*) under the premise that this would prolong the flowering season for the benefit of visitors. This phrase appears with some regularity in the letters, meeting notes, and strategy documents for the restoration. The legitimacy of eschewing period varieties in favour of serving visitor interest will be considered in relation to industry guidance and best practice in the section for planting, rather than repeating it each time this is mentioned, as it is key to understanding the ethos of the restoration, and conservation at large.

A yew (*Taxus baccata*) hedge divides the front garden from the lawn garden, topped with a topiary dragon, christened 'Fafnir' by Morris after Sigurd's dragon in the Volsunga Saga. A significant text to Morris given that he both translated it and based one of his epic poems *Sigurd the Volsung 1876* upon it. Morris shaped the dragon himself in an annual ceremony.
Prior to the restoration the yew was incredibly overgrown and encroaching on the house, remedial work was needed to make the hedge 'workable' again. An inordinate amount of debate is given to Fafnir in the garden project file,[103] discussions involving outside experts and numerous diagrams about how Fafnir might look. Curious given that the 1910 engraving by F.L. Griggs clearly depicts the shape of Fafnir, and though an engraving cannot be taken as fact, it is a far more reliable source than contemporary opinion. Sadly, the current form doesn't resemble this period image. (fig.5)

[103] Garden Project File, housed in Kelmscott Manor Archive

The Lawn Garden

By far the most problematic area of the restoration, the lawn garden is the area Morris would least likely recognise today. In Morris' day this was the kitchen garden and photographic evidence over many years in that period show it to be an abundant site, largely given over to productive growing space. (fig.6,7) The restoration project however opted to turn this area into a lawn with an (already present) Acacia tree forming a lawn specimen. (fig.8) The draft plan for the restoration states '*N.E. of the Manor there used to be a vegetable garden surrounded by a path, it is considered impractical to recreate a vegetable garden. However a rectilinear path around a lawn with beds against the boundary walls would restore shape to this garden*.'[104] Sounding initially arbitrary, further understanding of the thought process is given by Hal Moggridge in his post-restoration essay *'...the desirability of providing lawn space so that large numbers of visitors can occupy the garden, led to the decision to replace much of the vegetable bed area with grass*'[105] The value of the resulting garden falls to the intentions of Kelmscott Manor, whether it is that of a heritage site, for cultural and historical educational purposes, or a visitor attraction. The financial side of this decision by the restoration team echoes back to the early days of restoration with Graham Stuart Thomas' guidance '*calculation of the size of the restoration, to ensure that any project kept within the budget*.'[106] And if this were purely a financial decision then it would be in keeping with Historic England's advice that restoration is acceptable if maintenance implications are considered to be acceptable[107] However, the understanding that this was a decision based on visitor operations is rather less easy to justify in a heritage setting. As Historic England state in the same report that restoration should '*respect*

[104] 'Draft Plan' 20/12/93, Kelmscott archive
[105] A. Crossley, p.152
[106] Graham Stuart Thomas, 'The restoration of gardens', *Landscape Design*, no. 124, February 1979, pp. 19–22
[107] English Heritage 'Restoration guidelines' 2008

previous forms of the place'[108] while ICOMOS charter on historic gardens is even more explicit '*While any historic garden is designed to be seen and walked about in, access to it must be restricted to the extent demanded by its size and vulnerability, so that its physical fabric and cultural message may be preserved*.'[109] While there may be a 'cultural message' in replacing a vegetable garden with a lawn, it is one of the clash between capitalism and heritage in the 21st century, rather than the historic relevance of William Morris' Kelmscott.

The debate between preserving an historic garden and encouraging visitors is one that is fiercely debated from ICOMOS[110] to the National Trust, with some commentators suggesting that the Trust places visitor enjoyment above the act of conservation.[111] Certainly visitors are at the forefront of the National Trust framework for conservation, stating in their guidance literature that prior to starting any garden work the needs of the target audience should be considered.[112] Given that public access is at the heart of their founding principles, it could be argued that this balance is trickier for the National Trust than for other organisations. Once again it falls to a lack of protective legislature for gardens that makes these compromises possible, as an exaggerated but relevant comparison, it unlikely internal walls would be removed from an historic building for the sake of visitor flow.

The memorial talk given by U. Fielding[113] evocatively describes May Morris enjoying the consumption of figs from two fig trees in the N.E. corner of the garden, these are not present in the gardens current form and reintroducing them would be a small but significant way to bring

[108] Ibid
[109] ICOMOS 'Historic Gardens: Florence Charter 1981' Article 18
[110] E. Harrison 'The politics of World heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation' (London: Multilingual matters, 2005) p.v
[111] Telegraph article. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/gardens-to-visit/pix-and-pub-plshistoric-gardens-being-damaged-by-visitors-using/
[112] The National Trust 'Restoring 18th Century pleasure grounds' Booklet
[113] U. Fielding 'Memories of May Morris' Women's Guild of Art talk held March 1940

this area back some of its former use and identity.

Adjacent to the lawn area is the north door of the Manor. Photographic record from Morris' day show a large yew hedge running across the front of the door, this feature had a dominating impact on the space. (fig.9) There is no written record found to explain this hedge so close to the house but it may have had a practical purpose, considering this is the north entrance, this large evergreen may have protected the entrance from draughts and cold winds. Another feature of this area was a series of parallel earth mounds. To recreate the division of garden spaces, Colvin and Moggridge designed a pergola to be placed between this area and the following orchard. (fig.10)

In an interview for this study, Hal Moggridge explained they weren't aware of the mounds, further to this he explains, the pergola was pure invention.[114] Adding new structures without historic precedent in this way has little to do with restoration or conservation, but could be argued as perfectly legitimate if the garden is looked upon as a creative evolving space, in the vein of Morris' SPAB beliefs, however as part of Morris' Kelmscott it seemingly has no place in the narrative, and is not relatable as Morris' garden.

The Orchard

Reinstating the Orchard was more straight forward, as this was the known use for the space. (fig.11,12) This area was divided from the Mulberry garden with trellis work for climbing roses, again in keeping with the space. The original path along the north edge of the orchard was not reinstated, again this may have been a practical decision based on visitor flow, but as there is no documentation to support this decision it is not possible to draw this conclusion, other than to

[114] Hal Moggridge OBE, consultant at Colvin and Moggridge. In interview with G Stoneystreet 28/8/17

acknowledge this departure from period accuracy.

There appears to be no record of the varieties of apples that were enjoyed by the Morris family and the choice fell to that well known phrase 'Apple trees should be selected for late flowering and early fruiting to give maximum benefit to visitors'[115] though on this occasion not in a way that was detrimental to the period, as the selected fruit trees (Pershore Yellow Egg plum, Apples, Beauty of Bath, Lady Sudeley, Gascoyne's Scarlet, American Mother, King of the pippins, Blenheim orange, Adam's Pearmain) all represent varieties that were popular in the mid to late 1800's.

The Mulberry Garden

One of the more frequently photographed parts of the garden, as this view from the green room window was one of May Morris' favourites.[116] The entire garden revolves around the mulberry tree, which is described in all the interpretation material and literature about the garden, as the *ancient* Mulberry tree. And so it was unexpected when a photograph from Mary Lobb's archive at the National Library of Wales, showed this area of the garden without the Mulberry tree present. (fig.14) Once it became clear that the mulberry was not as old as first considered, it was necessary to further scrutinise evidence that had been taken to support the original assumption. A photograph in Derek Baker's book shows the tree in the 1930's[117] beside the text where it is described as the 400 year old Mulberry tree, is a good example of how a piece of information can be taken as fact without revisiting the evidence. The tree in this picture, though clearly not a newly planted specimen, is anything but 400 years old, it has a slender, upright-ness that would

[115] 'Draft 20/12/93' Kelmscott archive
[116] Dr K. Haslam, curator at Kelmscott Manor. In interview with G Stoneystreet 29/8/17
[117] D. Baker 'The flowers of William Morris' (London: Barn Elm, 1996) p.52

not be the expected character of a Mulberry that age. A problem throughout the Mary Lobb archive[118] is the lack of dating on the photographs, though it has to be assumed that the photo with the absent Mulberry would have been during William's time. The size of the tree in the 1930's photograph along with what appears to be a relatively tall tree in the Mulberry's position in the Marie Spartali Stillman painting of 1905[119] suggests that it might well have been planted before Morris' death in 1896, or certainly not long afterwards.

Given the presence of the Mulberry in most of the photographs that have been used to reference this area of the garden it can be considered that most of the images relate to May's era at the manor rather than William's, and therefore it cannot be confirmed how much change took place between these two epochs. One thing is for certain, throughout the eras of photographs there is a super-abundance in the beds around this part of the garden that has not been replicated in the restoration. The area under the Mulberry tree has been laid out to lawn, allowed to grow longer directly under the tree to discourage the public from walking in it and treading mulberries in the house. Many of the photographs show tall flowers being supported by pea sticks and frames throughout what is now lawn. The Spartali-Stillman watercolours[120] suggest flowers tumbling over one another in these beds, with what look like delphiniums forming the top layer of flowers, black and white photographs also show this layering of flowers, with tall poppies and possibly raspberry canes. By contrast the current garden looks sedate, two polite borders run down the side of a neatly managed lawn, (fig.17) as far removed from the tumbling and flowing flora in the archives, removing any sense of how this garden might have felt in Morris' time or any sense of how useful it was, as a source of produce and cut flowers, as an inspiration for artists, and significantly, May Morris' favourite view. The bed directly under the window has also been re-

[118] Mary Lobb Archive, LLGC National Library of Wales, accessed 12/9/17, per. Comms Simon Evans

[119] M. Frederick, J. Marsh, 'Poetry in Beauty: The Pre-Raphaelite art of Marie Spartali-Stillman' (Compton: Watts gallery, 2016)

[120] Ibid

imagined rather than restored, with a square bed that runs from house to path, in replacement for what was a circular bed in Morris' time.

The Meadow

Running to the west of the Manor, the meadow is perhaps the most problematic in terms of restoration and little was undertaken strategically. There were some attempts to plant native wildflower plugs in the meadow.[121] However, without a stringent maintenance programme it is not possible to maintain a wildflower meadow in this manner. The strategy meetings acknowledged the absence of key features in this area, i.e. the Elm trees, lost to disease, as most in the country were. It should be noted that many of the residents of Kelmscott commented on the meadow, and wild fringes of the property evocatively; William, May, and Jane Morris, along with Rossetti, all make mention of it in letters and other writings, they all took pleasure from it, from the flowers that it contained and the meaning that it represented. Morris even persuaded the Thames Conservancy Board not to cut back the wild flowers on the riverbank.[122] There was also a temporary pond that was sometimes created by a dip in the land, and mentioned by May, but this has since been filled in. A management strategy could have been created to restore the meadow, and disease resistant varieties of Elm can now be sourced and would be a celebrated and poignant addition to this space that was considered only fleetingly during the restoration and is mostly represented by its car parking abilities.

Planting

As we have seen, planting is the least legislated and protected part of a landscape, there is no specific guidance as to what should or shouldn't be done in this regard. Although those in the

[121] Stephanie Carter, advisor with Colvin & Moggridge. In interview with G Stoneystreet 17/6/17
[122] K. Marsh, 'Writers and their houses' (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1993) p.299

heritage industry may not consider it desirable, it is considered acceptable, to replace period species with modern ones, or to create planting plans completely at odds with the perceived history. This attitude becomes problematic when we look at gardens like Kelmscott, from the late-Victorian period onwards. Designers that followed Morris' philosophies and ethos were focused on natural elements, eschewing carpet bedding, lawns, and vast structures, instead using plants to make spaces of abundance that were both creative and productive, and with a rich use of colour. Soft planting is key to the formulation of the garden. However, without specific guidelines and 'best practice' documentation, there are different planting philosophies that could be applied to a project as this. Given this as a basis for subjective consideration, the planting of Kelmscott's restoration will be considered in the knowledge that any diversion from historic accuracy does not necessarily constitute an incorrect approach for the restoration as it was carried it.

Suggestions for how the planting was to be approached were laid out right at the beginning of the process, with both the Society of Antiquaries, and Colvin and Moggridge having their own philosophies towards this. The Society of Antiquaries requested that the gardens contain plants that occur in Morris' designs.

'*It has been found helpful to have plants in the garden which reflect the plants that occur in Morris' textiles -Willow, strawberry, marigolds, jasmine, crown imperial lilies, honeysuckle, eyebright, and acanthus.*'[123]

In the 21st century world of commercial branding it is likely that the willow or curled acanthus leaf would become the trademark or leitmotif of Morris' work and in a 21st century context it can be understood why the visitor would expect to find these things present. There is a knowing connection between the preconceived expectations of the visitor and the property. It is an example of heritage being created around the audience. There is a similar example in the

[123] 'report on garden development' 1.3.93. Kelmscott archive

interiors of Kelmscott; Jane Morris' bedroom decorated in the 1980's with wallpaper and fabrics in the famous willow pattern, a move that may have satisfied the general visitor in finding what they had expected to see, but the contrivance is at odds with the perceived authenticity of an environment that is presenting itself, through its interpretation material, as the house that the Morris family knew. Kelmscott's present curator aims to return the bedroom to its 'original' interpretation,[124] though the move is considered to be potentially controversial. It is interesting to observe in this scenario the relationship between visitor and heritage, and who is serving whom?

The willow aside (growing then, as it does now, along the side of the Thames to the south of Kelmscott Manor) there is no reason to believe that the plants from the patterns would have been grown at the Manor. It is well documented that Morris' design process was not usually taken directly from 'the wild,' rather than copying plants in nature or gardens he took his design inspiration from drawings in herbals, eschewing scientific accuracy for imagination. Lectures given by Morris describe this process of design and go some way to giving us an understanding of how Morris prints look as they do, and the overwhelming significance of ancient herbals on Morris' design work.[125] The inspiration for Morris' use of different species in the backgrounds of his prints can be seen in the old herbals where the image from the previous page has bled through. (fig.24)

Whether the erroneous presence of the pattern flowers matters or not comes down to the perception of where the educational value lies in the garden, either in presenting the garden William knew, which suggests no precedent for these varieties, or presenting more generally how the natural world functioned as a resource for the designer, which allows context for these choices.

[124] Dr K. Haslam, curator at Kelmscott Manor. In interview with G Stoneystreet 31/1/17
[125] D. Baker, p.80

Colvin and Moggridge set out their own principles also in the earliest documentation of the project.

'*Ordinary 19th Century cottage garden plants are to be selected, giving particular thought to July and August which is the busiest period, though the manor is open April-September. Garden is to be kept trim and not, but 'cottage' (not Robinson's wild garden.) Plants that are in the fabrics are to be grown...Planting should evoke the ideas of Morris and his associates, should include scent, be mainly common before 1896 but possibly include a few modern species of comparable character to the Victorian to prolong the flowering season*.'[126]

The actual planting for the restoration came to focus on, flowers that were popular in William Morris' day.[127] From this concept a list of plants was compiled, based primarily upon the plants that were popular in the late Victorian period and still commercially available today. To supplement this list more modern plants were added based upon extending the flowering period to maintain attractiveness throughout the visitor period.

The use of plants popular at the time, though an approach that is in general appropriate for period restoration, in the context of William Morris leads to further potential problems. Many of the plants popular with late Victorians were bred varieties that Morris considered at odds with nature. Therefore, the plant selection process needs to be more nuanced, firstly to look at using single flowers rather than double where possible, as Morris rightly believed (another observation ahead of its time) that the taste for breeding double flowers inhibited insect life.[128]

Ideas he had developed at Red House, for medieval planting and the use of old fashioned flowers, should have informed the planting plans for Kelmscott, particularly with a focus on native and naturalised species, something he was a pioneer in promoting, along with Robinson.[129] There are several references in the archives and letters to a pleasure in aromatic plants, sometimes directly referencing the garden at Kelmscott, such as thyme (*Thymus sp*.)

[126] 'Strategies document' 4/2/93. Kelmscott Archive
[127] Stephanie Carter, Advisor at Colvin & Moggridge. In interview with G Stoneystreet 17/6/17
[128] W. Morris, 'Making the best of it.' *Hopes and fears for art*, (London: Book Jungle, 2009)
[129] W. Robinson, 'The Wild Garden' (London: The garden office, 1881)

written of in relation to the varieties Morris was discovering in Iceland.[130] Aromatic plants are not currently to be found at Kelmscott.

Modern plants have been widely introduced to the gardens, notably the prominent David Austin roses in the front garden, particularly disappointing given Morris expressed in writing the varieties of old fashioned roses that he favoured, and later the receipts from May Morris' rose purchases for the gardens, both of which could have informed the selection.

The abundance of tulip bulbs that are planted each year[131] does not feel compatible with Morris' approach, leaning more towards the carpet planting he abhorred and seeming to counter his philosophies on garden colour.

'*As to colours in gardens. Flowers in masses are mighty strong colour, and if not used with great caution are very destructive to pleasure in gardening. On the whole, I think the best and safest plan is to mix up your flowers, and rather eschew great masses of colour - in combination I mean*.'[132]

These modern bedding tulips are not representative of the smaller wild tulip varieties that existed prolifically in Morris' garden and that still exist (having pleasingly naturalised) in much smaller numbers under the Mulberry tree.

The structure of the planting is largely at odds with the archive photographs, the most distinctive note of difference is in the use of height, the archive photographs show how the planting embraced height, there was an abundance of plant supports used across the garden, home-made pea sticks that look to have supported a variety of plants and flowers. The current planting, confined to neat borders, rarely introduces height and in so doing creates a sense of openness and flatness that is clearly at odds with the feel of the Morris' garden.

The omission from any of these approaches was archive research. With the exception of one comment about thickening the planting on the left of the front garden, to match New's drawing,

[130] W. Morris, 'Collected Letters' (Surrey: Princetown University Press, 1984) p.145
[131] Celia James, Gardener at Kelmscott Manor. In interview with G. Stoneystreet 29/8/17
[132] W. Morris, 'Making the best of it.' *Hopes and fears for art*, (London: Book Jungle, 2009)

there is little reference, or visual evidence in the garden, that an in-depth approach was taken to learn about the planting composition in Morris' day.

Ethos

The key is trying to understand if Kelmscott Manor gardens reflect William Morris, in all of his teachings, his principles, his ideologies. Instead of focusing on the individual elements of the garden, as important as they are, the work should be assessed as a whole. Remembering that ultimately, the aim of Historic England, ICOMOS, the National Trust, the Gardens Trust, and the Society of Antiquaries, is to preserve the educational and historic value of the garden, and that comes down to capturing the ethos of a place, appropriating Pope's *Genius Loci.*[133] In other words, is this garden representative of the philosophy that Morris put forward about gardens and how we live, in the same manner that his literature can educate us about his beliefs in socialism and the labours of the working man, or how his lectures can educate us on his design theories, and their practical applications. As Historic England's restoration guidelines describe it *evidential value through association*[134] meaning that the way an individual made their garden gives us some insight into the personal, cultural and sometimes political, aspects of their character.

Given the stature of Morris' cultural, social, and political personality, the significance of his presence in the gardens is beyond question, and therefore the discussion centres on how successful the restoration has been in achieving this. It can be claimed that the restoration's planting placed more emphasis on the visitor season than it did on aiming for an authentic rendering of Morris' Kelmscott.

The productive areas of the garden are the most representative of Morris' philosophies of man's

[133] P. Hobhouse, 'The story of gardening' (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2002) p.206
[134] English Heritage 'Restoration guidelines' 2008. P.29

connection to the land, and the absence of any sense of Morris' kitchen garden betrays this sense of connecting the garden to the life lived within the house. Certain crops which may be deemed too scruffy for today's garden visitor were evidently significant to the Morrises. For example, Raspberry canes as Morris described, '*trellised up neatly so that they look like a medieval garden*.'[135] something May Morris evidently continued to appreciate in the garden judging by a receipt for 100 raspberry canes in the 1930's. Along with the absence of any of the kitchen garden, which had been a productive space in Morris' day, and the seemingly abundant fig trees in the North garden, the sense of the space as productive, is reduced primarily to the re-established orchard. All of these significant absences, emphasised even further by the fact they are replaced by lawn, the most unproductive and Victorian of pleasures, lead to the overall impression that there is a lack of that very expression that Morris used so evocatively in *News from Nowhere* and perhaps expresses neatly what has not been restored at Kelmscott '*super-abundance*.'[136] Or the definition in his lecture *Making the best of it* '*orderly and rich*'[137] which at Kelmscott translates as orderly and mannered.

From an educational point of view the gardens don't clearly represent Morris' point of view, they are not the '*clothes of the house*'[138] and due to the openness of the lawn areas don't give the same suggestion of separate rooms that the period photographs suggest were once there and that Morris had been so keen to achieve at Red House through the inspiration of medievalism.

It is perhaps telling that the gardens are not mentioned in the guidebook, not because their authenticity is under question but more likely due to the lack of significance attributed to them, which might in some ways give a nod to the approach that was taken during the initial

[135] William Morris letter to Mrs Burne-Jones, May 1896.
[136] W. Morris, 'News from Nowhere' (London: Thomas Nelson & Son, 1941) p.275
[137] W. Morris, 'Making the best of it.' *Hopes and fears for art*, (London: Book Jungle, 2009)
[138] Ibid.

restoration. The general lack of appreciation for the intrinsic value of a garden or wider estate has been all too common. All too often buildings and monuments have been acquired by English Heritage for the nation without the associated gardens and land, which were often disregarded and sold off separately,[139] or the archaeologists of built remains, trampled over and destroyed evidence of the surrounding gardens as they seek out their Roman villas.[140] Though influential to garden restoration, this subject thread is outside of the scope of this paper, but is worthy of study in its own right.

If, as Latour and Lowe suggest, that spirit of place or aura, is put there by the audience,[141] then authenticity exists because the audience make it so. Does this mean the garden should express what the people want, or anticipate? And following this line of thought, the success of the restoration is defined by whether or the not the gardens present what the audience is expecting. A perfect example of visitor-led authenticity is the restoration of the privy garden at Hampton Court Palace, a restoration project that used all the archaeological tools available to recreate the garden. When the gardens were revealed there was a lukewarm response from the public who felt the planting of the tulips was sparse and ungenerous, rather than thinking of them in the context of the period, when tulip bulbs were incredibly expensive and something of a status symbol that were planted individually to be shown off. The public instead contrasted them with the more familiar Victorian parks planting, or carpet bedding. As a result, rather than stay true to the period detail and risk an unhappy public, the gardens were planted more heavily, satisfying the general visitors perception of authenticity.[142] If it looks wrong to the visitor, is it therefore

[139] G. Chitty, D. Baker, 'Managing Historic Sites and Buildings' (London: Routledge, 1999) p.128.
[140] C. Taylor, 'The Archaeology of gardens' (Bucks: Shire publications, 1983) p.67.
[141] T. Bartscherer (ed), 'Switching Codes: Thinking through digital technology in the humanities and the arts' (Chicago: University Press, 2011) p.275
[142] Dr, J. Woudstra, Historian at Sheffield University. Interview via email with G Stoneystreet, 13/9/17

wrong? In this context the Kelmscott restoration has achieved the visitor's perception of authenticity. The front garden reflects the familiar book cover, the borders echo the fabrics, and the spaciousness afforded by the wider paths and lawn areas reflect the template that is familiar to National Trust members, at the visitor-friendly properties in their portfolio.

The question of designing a space for the benefit of the public is particularly pertinent when considering the National Trust, who are synonymous with heritage and public access. It arguably lies at the heart of their mandate, informing their existence and therefore they should not be expected to do otherwise. However, the marriage of heritage sites and public access is frequently incompatible, and in the case of restoration the very presence of the public may conflict with the concept of authenticity, be that either by the fact their presence is changing the nature of a place and therefore inhibiting an appreciation of the character[143] or by the fundamental physical changes that are often made to accommodate the public and the services required by their presence, as seen at Kelmscott.

While the National Trust may have a responsibility to public access, the Society of Antiquaries does not, and their Royal Charter of 1751, which states their function as '*The encouragement, advancement and furtherance of the study and knowledge of the antiquities and history of this and other countries*.' suggests their remit and brief should have been balanced more towards authenticity.

Sometimes even a mandate for public access should not be allowed to override the needs of the heritage and it is arguable that the National Trust's drive for visitors and members places its gardens at risk. In August 2017 it was reported that the National Trust plan to achieve 200k visitors in 2018 at Lawrence Johnson's Hidcote gardens in the Cotswolds.[144] An achievement that is potentially in violation of Johnson's will, and perhaps could destroy the garden. Of course

[143] T. Bartscherer. P.286
[144] Sir Roy Strong, speaking on BBC Radio4 The world this weekend, 20/8/17

very few gardens are designed for that level of footfall, and certainly not one in the arts and crafts style, such as Hidcote. The way in which Roy Strong presented this valid argument perhaps leaves him open to accusations of elitism but there are other ways to preserve a garden from excessive public presence, for example limited openings or as Hal Moggridge suggests, closing certain areas of the garden for different periods to rest.[145] The presence of a large volume of public is incompatible with heritage gardens, but a different solution must be found that doesn't involve adapting the garden beyond recognition.

Conclusions of the Restoration

Considering Kelmscott, the question is, did they ask, what makes it Morris' garden? If it is through ethos that we find the genius of the place, rather than through the specifics of plant and structure, then the start of all considerations of the project fall back to this. What are the elements that would bring the gardens closer to as Morris would have known them, and make it a 'Morris' garden? If the garden isn't responding to those questions, then why not?

What this comes down to is the brief, and what exactly was the aim of the project, as that defines the success or not. Significantly Hal Moggridge states that he did not see the project as a restoration but more a reimagining[146] and with the Society of Antiquaries stated that they wished to create a garden for visitors that evoked Morris and included some of the flowers from his pattern designs.[147] In this context the project has been a success, the gardens look attractive for visitors, are user friendly and create space. If this was what Kelmscott Manor wished to achieve then Colvin and Moggridge were the correct contractors, given their position as industry leaders and their timeless designs for the Royal Parks of London. There is a place for evolving creativity

[145] Hal Moggridge OBE, consultant at Colvin & Moggridge in interview with G Stoneystreet, 27/8/17
[146] Ibid
[147] Draft 20/12/93' Kelmscott archive

in heritage gardens, as will be discussed later. However, given the historical context of the garden it can be argued this should not have been the aim. As previously noted, historical significance is one of the most important priorities of garden conservation, and the presence of a key historical figure such as Morris should mean a distinction is drawn between an historic garden design and the cultural significance of a 'famous' garden. That distinction is basically between gardens that are horticulturally important, and gardens that are both horticulturally and culturally important to the nation.

In a garden that can be considered culturally a 'one off,' and of national significance, there should be no room for freewheeling. If the garden wasn't considered a restoration by the people involved in the project then the question might be asked, why not? An attempt should be made to 'restore' the garden as close to the historical evidence that is available. Where this is not possible, the interpretation material and presentation of the garden should make it clear that it is not as would have been known to Morris, to maintain educational value. The term 'restoration' comes with the suggestion that the garden has been restored, and sadly this is the term that is linked to the project at Kelmscott, in interpretation material at the manor, in all commentary on the gardens, and significantly in the most high profile presentation of the details of the project, the essay written by Hal Moggridge.[148] This scenario creates an untruth for the public that is perhaps not ideal when it relates to a figure of such national importance as William Morris. There is an argument that historic garden restorations should be designed by historians rather than designers[149]

If we tried to place this restoration project in the context of a building for a moment, it is unlikely that the heritage would be considered as lightly nor played out with such freedom of creativity.

[148] A. Crossley, p.146
[149] Fiona Dennis, Head Gardener at Charleston House. In interview with G Stoneystreet 11/9/17

The project would have been carried out in a wholly different manner, involving the scrutiny of opinion from SOA committees, SPAB, and guidance from Historic England. This highlights the lack of stature with which gardens are held. It is not that the Kelmscott project acted incorrectly by not engaging in this level of scrutiny, there is no industry standard to suggest they should, it is however questionable that gardens of historic significance are not obliged to do so. There is no responsibility towards gardens of historic significance save for their structural contents, and while this is concerning from the point of view of considered restoration it is more alarming when considering conserving those gardens that still exist. And this is where a garden that is built on its planting, rather than its structure is fundamentally more vulnerable to loss. It took only half a century for Kelmscott to lose the vast majority of the elements that made it what it was. The same fate that befell the Red House gardens. Whereas 50 years in the life of a Capability Brown landscape, any loss would be more retrievable. The wider question is, for the historic plantsmen's gardens, which are largely irretrievable once lost, and impossible subjects for restoration, with little or no legislation or guidance to protect them, how can they be protected and conserved?

PART 3 - RESTORATION AND CONSERVATION OF 20TH CENTURY PLANTSMEN'S GARDENS

Plantsmen's gardens

ICOMOS believe that a lot of 20th century heritage is under threat, largely due to a lack of recognition, the absence of comprehensive research frameworks, and poor structures of protection. It is of course harder to be objective about recent history, firstly there is a lot of it, and secondly it is too recent to understand its influence, and therefore its significance. The debate about mid-century brutalist architecture is the perfect example of how modern heritage can polarise opinion, with some wishing to see it eradicated in its entirety[150] while others perceive it as pioneering modernist architecture.[151] The majority of the arguments relate to taste, rather than passive consideration as to whether or not it is culturally significant.

The key difference between architecture and gardens is that of vulnerability, while Preston bus station[152] can sit in its perceived ugly/beautiful state without fear of its degradation, for as long as is needed for the public debate to rumble on, the same cannot be said of 20th century gardens. As has been demonstrated by the examples of William Morris' gardens, left to their own devices, plantsmen's gardens return to nature relatively quickly. The debate therefore about their conservation is rather more pressing.

The lack of protective bodies for these gardens is one aspect, but alongside deciding what should be conserved is looking at how the legislation process will work for them should they be considered for conservation. There is little use agreeing that something should be conserved if

[150] Independent article 2/11/16. Found at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/euston-arch-declares-war-on-brutalist-architecture-john-hayes-a7393846.html
[151] P. Chadwick, 'This brutal world' (London: Phaidon, 2016)
[152] Independent article 4/1/14. Found at: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/architecture/love-hate-and-concrete-the-battle-for-preston-bus-station-9035713.html

there is no framework with which to protect it. As the current framework doesn't extend to plants, save perhaps the specificity of tree species, which conversely to smaller plants actually are considered in current guidance, and paradoxically are less vulnerable to the vagaries of time. The Gardens Trust conference on 20th century gardens[153] was initiated in response to the loss of Sylvia Crowe's garden at the Landscape Institute in London,[154] the conference prompted the compilation of a list of potential gardens to be given listed status. And while this is an important step in recognising the significance of these gardens it sets little in place in terms of actual conservation. It is argued that Historic England has adopted a generalist approach, composing its teams largely of art and architectural historians, and archaeologists, without the presence of the landscape discipline,[155] therefore there isn't the knowledge in place to assist with the specialised composition of plantsman's gardens. There is also room for cynicism in considering what might be achieved in the listing status of these gardens, given that Sylvia Crowe's garden itself was on English Heritage's register.[156]

The changes that led to the existence of plantsmen's gardens came about during the Victorian era, though famous for generic carpet bedding, this era saw the beginnings of an explosion in plant species introduced to gardens that transformed the palette and diversity available to gardeners in the 20th century.

Plant collecting for the British Isles has a long history dating back to the Romans, however it was during the Victorian era that it found a renewed vigour. The world of Victorian plant hunting is filled with extraordinary men. Funded by organisations like the Royal Botanical Gardens Kew,

[153] G. Mawrey, (ed) 'Historic Gardens Newsletter', July 2017, No. 45
[154] Landscapeinstitute.org article. Found at: https://www.landscapeinstitute.org/blog/gardens-trust-conference-report/
[155] Deborah Evans, Garden Historian. In interview with G Stoneystreet. 4/8/17
[156] J. Haenraets, J. E. Obas, 'Initiatives and attempts to safeguard designed landscapes of the recent past' *Garden History,* vol.39, No.2, 2011, p.263

private businesses such as Veitch nurseries, or by wealthy private patrons, driven mostly by the desire to possess the most exotic species, or a wish to take part in the expeditions themselves, resulting in a wealth of new plant materials.

The decline of the garden aristocracy led to a decline in plant hunting during the early decades of the 20th century,[157] and the emphasis moved towards plant breeding, which over the rest of the century evolved through techniques such a micro-propagation, to continue the upsurge in plant diversity.

All of this activity increased the availability of colour, shape and texture to garden designers that were not available to those of previous periods, which inevitably has a vast influence over the art created. As a comparison we can think of the effects that the arrival of new paint pigments had on painting, for example cochineal red, derived from the Mexican beetle and introduced in the 16th and 17th centuries, allowed artists such as Rembrandt and Rubens to achieve more intense reds than had been seen before in the restrained palette of ancient red ochre.[158] Similarly, John Goffe Rand's (1801-1873) invention of collapsible paint tubes in the 1840's allowed colours to be mixed and stored without the messy and impractical option of using pig's bladders, as had been the previous practice. This invention led to the availability of colours such as manganese violet, beloved by the Impressionists in the proceeding period, notably Monet who used the colour prolifically.[159] Thus materials, through their discovery and evolution, allow art a rich layer of chronology and context that enhances our understanding of culture.

Similarly, the result of this proliferation of plant materials gave rise to an era in garden design with an unprecedented focus on plant species. Once again we return to Gertrude Jekyll, that most painterly of gardeners (and admired by Monet) as one of the progenitors of this change.

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[157] R. Bisgrove, 'The English Garden; (London: Penguin, 1990) p.255

[158] E. Phipps, 'Cochineal Red: The art history of a color' Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, vol. 67, No.3, Winter 2010

[159] Smithsonian article. Found at: http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/never-underestimate-the-power-of-a-paint-tube-36637764/

Around Lutyens' structure, Jekyll used the plant species available to her much as she would have used paint, to form rich impressionist sweeps of flowers. Although Jekyll and William Robinson still embraced native species, they opened the door to this new plant-based style of design.
As we move through the 20th century the most famous and influential garden designers are largely known for gardens made from plant combinations. Vita Sackville-West's famous white garden at Sissinghurst in Kent, (fig.23) the juxtaposition of Christopher Lloyd's exotic planting at Great Dixter, (fig.22) the power of movement and texture, along with the understanding of evolving plant communities in Piet Oudolf's prairie planting,[160] the diversity of species, and understanding of matching plants to environments in Beth Chatto's work[161], all are celebrated and used as a source of inspiration the world over, and all born out of plant composition.
The key feature that links all of these gardens and garden creators is that they don't exist without the plants, if any of these works were restored without emphasis on the plant species composition, they would not be representative of the works of these artists, the genius of the place would not be restored.

Perhaps then, although the slowness to draw up guidance so far has been down to the fact that garden restoration has focused so heavily on pre-1800 landscapes and has been slow to bring more modern gardens into its thinking, the real issue going forward is understanding what it is in 20th century gardens that make them require a different set of guidelines. This requires first the acknowledgement that we are dealing with a different and specific type of garden, an entity that doesn't fit the template for gardens that have been considered in previous guidance, as Deborah Evans describes them 'plantsmen's gardens are a challenging fit...temporal, experimental,

[160] P. Oudolf, N. Kingsbury, 'Hummelo' (London: Monacelli Press, 2015)
[161] B. Chatto, 'Drought-resistant planting: Lessons from Beth Chatto's gravel garden' (London: Frances Lincoln, 2016)

dynamic, and reliant on the vision of their maker.'[162]

Is it possible to restore a 'plantsman's garden'?

In acknowledging a hole in guidance and legislation the next obvious question should be, is it possible to restore and conserve these gardens? As with any type of restoration, it requires a nuanced approach. Sissinghurst, the garden of Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson, managed by the National Trust, is a great example of a plantsman's garden. At the start of the 21st century the garden faced criticism for having lost a sense of its creators. It had become, in the words of a member of the National Trust advisory panel '*a well-organised, professionally run visitor attraction*.'[163] Containing little of the shabby and romantic ethos of its creator whose motto was '*cram, cram, cram, every chink and cranny*'[164] In a positive departure from their uniformed approach, the National Trust has embarked on a process to restore the' genius loci' to this flagship garden. Sissinghurst's approach to restoring what has been lost has focused on returning to an understanding of the ethos and plant choices of its creators,[165] not in slavishly restoring the exact combinations of plants species but in trying to evoke the style, to capture the tones and textures that Sackville-West created in her planting, and the principles of her husband Harold Nicolson, who designed the garden's layout. The previously mentioned white garden is being restored to its heyday through reinstating the layout that had been later reconfigured, and

[162] Deborah Evans 'Plants without architecture' talk at the Gardens Trust conference, *Mid to late 20th Century designed landscapes, overlooked, undervalued, and at risk* 5/6/17
[163] Telegraph article 6/5/17. Found at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/11841469/A-garden-makeover-at-Sissinghurst.html
[164] V. Sackville-West, S. Raven, 'Sissinghurst: The creation of a garden' (London: Virago, 2014) p.196
[165] Monique Wolak, Heritage researcher NT Sissinghurst. In interview with G Stoneystreet, 11/9/17

helping the planting to recapture its earlier masterful uniqueness.[166] The original layout that is being adopted will decrease the volume of paths in this garden, allowing visitors to contemplate the space better.[167] This loss of visitor capacity is to be countered with the redevelopment of further areas that had not been cultivated in recent years, regardless, the choice of reducing the paths for the benefit of authenticity counters the opinions of the National Trust's detractors, and is a commendable decision. A successful restoration in a public garden still depends on well-presented interpretation of the work being done, in response to the return to Sackville West's romanticism of overgrown hedges and wandering climbers, some regular visitors stated they had stopped visiting due to the gardens no longer 'being maintained properly.'[168] This observation suggests there is a disconnect between the work and the message.

New plants are being introduced, and by employing Head gardeners and advisors of status, the Trust are clearly making space for change and new ideas within the heritage space. As Sales states '*The ethos of the genius of the place needs to be captured alongside valuing the creativity of flower gardening as an art*[169]*'* John Watkins, head of gardens at English Heritage believes this creativity is essential, and states that creativity in an historic milieu is key to heritage gardens.[170] However, achieving this he believes is down to thinking like the person, and putting style on the backseat.[171] In a treasured heritage space such as Sissinghurst, the balance between authenticity and creativity will be scrutinised closely. As with Kelmscott, Sissinghurst is arguably a heritage site as much as a garden and allowing a new personality into the space, be that as a head gardener or a commissioned designer, raises questions as to how much aesthetic opinion and

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[166] Monique Wolak, Heritage researcher NT Sissinghurst. In interview with G Stoneystreet, 27/9/17
[167] Ibid.
[168] Anecdotal conversation with members of the public by G Stoneystreet, 12/9/17
[169] J. Sales 'Conservation and Management of Historic flower gardens of the 20th century' *Garden History*, vol.37, No.2, p.218
[170] John Watkins, Head of Parks and Gardens at English Heritage. In interview with G Stoneystreet, 21/9/17
[171] Ibid

taste is allowed to interrupt the original creators message. In a restoration, or in conservation, as Fiona Dennis, Head gardener at Vanessa Bell's Charleston Farmhouse states '*we are protecting the facts, not the aesthetics*.'[172]

In contrast to this is the restoration of Jekyll's garden design at Hestercombe in Somerset, a very different approach is employed here, unlike Sissinghurst which was designed and gardened by its resident creators, Hestercombe was designed by commission and exact planting plans by Gertrude Jekyll exist for the space. This allows for the garden to be restored exactly as its designer intended, something that is achieved at Hestercombe.[173]

This example informs another element that dictates the success of restoring a plantsmen's garden and that is the presence of archival evidence. '*Only partial restoration can be achieved if the history and design are only partly available*'[174]

Conservation as a means to avoid restoration

'managing this constant change with an ideal in mind is the essence of flower gardening[175]*'*

Given the restrictions in restoring a plantsman's garden, perhaps the focus should be on conservation. If more work is done to conserve plantsmen's gardens then the fallible act of restoration can be more widely avoided.

Currently the success of conservation lies with obtaining a head gardener of quality that understands the aims and ethos of the 'genius of the place.' It is possibly this that provides the key for the future preservation of plantsmen's gardens of the 20th century, rather than legislation

[172] Fiona Dennis, Head Gardener at Charleston House. In interview with G Stoneystreet 11/9/17
[173] Hestercombe. Found at: https://www.hestercombe.com/history/restoration/
[174] J. Phibbs, "An Approach to the Methodology of Recording Historic Landscapes." *Garden History*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1983, p.175
[175] J. Sales 'Conservation and Management of Historic flower gardens of the 20th century' *Garden History*, vol.37, No.2, p.218

and guidance that might get lost somewhere in the gulf between practical viability and diversity of subject.

It seems then, rather than trying to legislate the impossible, that education is the key. To train gardeners at specific gardens with the aim of developing an understanding of the spirit of place. Great Dixter embraces this approach, it was intentionally provocative placing Christopher Lloyd's garden in the earlier chapter's list of plant-based gardens for protection. Although the exotic planting style is very much a feature of Lloyd's garden, and has been an inspiration in the world of garden design, presenting in its tropical nature a further debate on gardens and climate change, Lloyd's style doesn't represent garden conservation, in taking over the garden from his mother, Lloyd set about destroying an historic rose garden to make way for his radical colour planting. Since his death the Great Dixter Trust trains young garden designers with the ethos to '*never repeat exactly...not even one's successes*.'[176] The current head gardener Fergus Garrett worked under Lloyd and this has represented a continuity of ethos that has allowed the garden to thrive since Lloyd's death. Clearly Great Dixter understands that part of its own 'genius of place' is the sense of renewal, and as Sales suggests, the continual introduction of new plants can be part of the historical significance of some gardens.[177]

This reflects a primary problem with garden conservation and that is the transient nature of its art, gardens evolve and change and grow. One of the joys of creative gardening is observing a unique tableau, a combination of its designer and nature, that will never be exactly replicated from one visit to the next. This makes the essence of what is being conserved incredibly elusive, and contributes to the difficulties of legislating for its protection. Education however, is a significant factor in the future of conserving plantsmen's gardens, by learning to understand the intentions of the creators, not just their results. English Heritage's Historic and Botanic Garden

[176] Great Dixter. Found at: https://www.greatdixter.co.uk/learning/

[177] J. Sales 'Conservation and Management of Historic flower gardens of the 20th century' *Garden History*, vol.37, No.2, p.222

Trainee Programmes (HBGTP) leads the way by placing trainee gardeners in historic gardens, where they work with, and observe the best in their game,[178] which they do at many heritage gardens, including Great Dixter.

Even those gardens which have comprehensive planting plans such as the previously mentioned Hestercombe, require a sound education, as even Jekyll's planting plans need to be managed with the right eye,[179] Jekyll understood her plans as visual, evolving spaces and it takes sympathetic understanding to achieve the intended displays.

Alongside education, the recording of data has to be a priority in conserving plantsmen's gardens, if a complete record exists of a plantsmen's garden then the risk of loss as the garden changes and evolves is greatly reduced, as there is always access to the original vision. Imagine the effect on the Kelmscott restoration if the Morris' had documented lists of the plant species growing in each area of the garden, along with clear dated photographs. As the garden moves forward and evolves, the custodians then will always have access to the creator's vision. This then allows future gardeners to understand the original vision, while offering a greater sense of creativity, without the responsibility of loss.

[178] John Watkins, Head of Parks and Gardens at English Heritage. In interview with G Stoneystreet, 21/9/17

[179] Ibid

CONCLUSION

Returning to the original question; Are the gardens of Kelmscott Manor as William Morris would have known them? The answer is yes, and no. The Kelmscott garden restoration was created under the shade of compromise which occurs wherever visitor access and financial limitations are a firm part of the consideration. This spirit of compromise allows for substitutions and variations, and occasional complete dismissal of known elements of the original garden. It is hard to imagine such stock ignorance of fact being deemed acceptable in a building or interior restoration where the framework of best practice has been rigidly developed by years of policy making from SPAB, and English Heritage. Many decisions made on practical grounds, notably eschewing the kitchen garden for a large lawn to accommodate more visitors, or subduing the abundant planting for lack of garden staff, and similarly failing to develop the meadow for lack of labour hours, all come with perfectly reasonable justifications when viewing the property as a visitor attraction, however each decision removes the garden from something that Morris himself would have recognised. And once again returning to the analogy of comparing a garden restoration with a building or interior restoration, would it be acceptable to remove internal walls where rooms are too small to accommodate visitors? Does the lack of authoritative legislature on garden conservation and restoration make it more acceptable to eschew authenticity in favour of practicality?

Certainly the restoration of Kelmscott was not undertaken incorrectly, the process was in accord with the trodden path of garden restoration. It is not the restoration of Kelmscott specifically that is at fault but possibly the world of garden restoration as a whole. So unprotected that there is little will to invest in bringing a garden up to the level of its attached building. Is there a lack of legislature because it is not considered important enough, or is it not considered important enough because there is a lack of legislature to give it weight? Working out which comes first is perhaps the key to moving garden restoration into the key role it undoubtedly deserves in the

heritage industry debate. For as long as funding is the primary issue however, it is unlikely that garden restoration will be given the equal prominence of buildings and interiors. The capital consequence of ignoring building maintenance is so much greater than that for garden maintenance that it would be irresponsible for a property manager to ever put garden conservation at the top of their agenda.

So while Kelmscott Manor gardens may fall short in representing the gardens as William Morris would have known them, they have achieved what might currently be considered a heritage industry standard. And that perhaps says more about the current situation in the heritage industry than anything else.

It falls to the consideration of how important the representation of the gardens are, as to whether this is 'enough.' While the only way to assess that question authoritatively currently is to balance the gardens against Historic England's criteria of significance, this allows the argument to chase its own tale somewhat. The answer actually lies with the custodians, as in the world of gardens, the owner's authority trumps all other. It is for them to decide if the historic and educational value of the gardens justifies the investment, because it is their answer alone that holds sway over the garden, its restoration and continued conservation. Perhaps part of the answer should return to Morris' thoughts on building restoration and allowing buildings to show their historic evolutions, and cause us to correct our initial question from, are the gardens as they were? to 'should the gardens be as they were? Ultimately to capture both the spirit of Morris and Kelmscott, and the educational value of the garden, a slavish restoration is to be avoided, but rather a garden that captures the ethos. The educational value is then found in correct interpretation materials, that shed light on the garden as an evolved space, that present the idea of how the garden might have been in Morris day and how the current iteration captures his key beliefs and philosophies.

And in relation to the wider argument about legislation for 20th century gardens, it would seem that for gardens to live and breathe as the works of art that they are, then they should not be time-capsuled, the spirit of a garden cannot survive without a 'living' creative guardian. In terms of protecting important gardens this can only be hoped to be achieved through a gardener and designer continuing to work in the spirit of the originator. If a garden is listed and legislated then it might prevent an even more significant and inspirational evolution from taking place, for example had Great Dixter's rose garden been listed then Lloyd may not have had the chance to turn it into the celebrated garden it became, and who would stand in the way of that? Hand in hand with this sympathetic evolution, documentation has to be the best way to preserve the genius of the place, through plant lists and photographs.

The caveat to this approach is where the garden contributes significant cultural heritage, Kelmscott, much as anywhere that the public visit intending to come in contact with the creator's world and to participate in their imagination,[180] requires more sympathetic hands to ensure the cultural message is protected in the creative space. And in the instances where this cannot be achieved, the interpretation materials must not mislead, and have be explicit in their description.

The terms conservation and restoration have crossed over one another throughout this paper, the aim of both is the same, to allow the future access to the genius of the past. As the absence of the former leads to a need for the latter, so it needs to be considered in the reverse. The presence of conservation negates the need for restoration. Restoration of a plant based garden, as we have seen, is destined to be flawed, and therefore as we consider 20th century gardens at risk we should not be considering restoration as an end game solution but to focus more energy on conservation, learning the lesson from Kelmscott, that a plantsmen's garden once lost cannot be

[180] H. Hendrix, p.239

fully regained. The heritage industry needs to do something to acknowledge that a significant element of our heritage, an aspect of our national life, is at great risk. In the 20th century as with most periods before it, the UK has contributed to the development of garden design internationally, it is one of the few artistic endeavours in which we have a consistent record of international recognition. For this reason, if no other, there must be a recognition amongst the bodies in whose care gardens lay, to understand the vulnerability, and to see that garden history does not end with Capability Brown.

The Gardens Trust are well placed to be the pioneers of this movement and their commendable conference on 20th century gardens is perhaps the most significant step of progress so far, to which it should be hoped other heritage bodies follow. However, the listing process that has been initiated by this conference, while potentially increasing the perceived value of these gardens, will not go all that far in protecting them, as listing plant-based gardens does nothing to contribute to their understanding, or care, and as we have seen with Sylvia Crowe's destroyed garden, does not even necessarily protect a garden from developers. There is a fear that conferences such as this, and legislation changes, tend to be prompted by the loss of a high-profile garden, and this reactive approach is not what this vulnerable genre of gardens need, if it takes the loss of a garden for each step to be taken, then too many valuable gardens will be martyred to the cause. What needs to happen is a sea-change in our perception of what plantsmen's gardens are, and the appreciation of their significance in our garden history narrative. This has to be found in deepening education, both of the bodies that protect the gardens and the gardeners that work in them.

Images

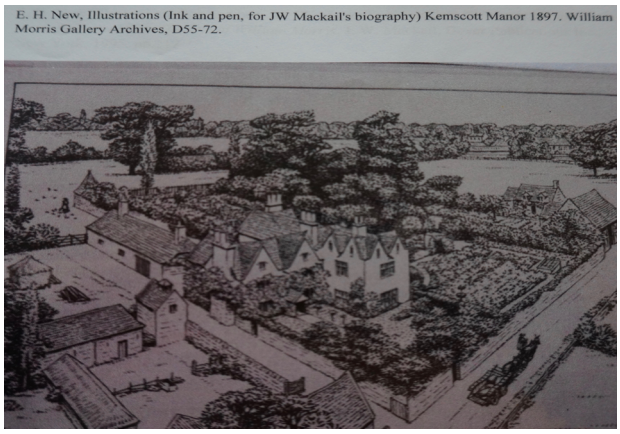

Figure 1 Birds Eye View -1897 (E.H. New)

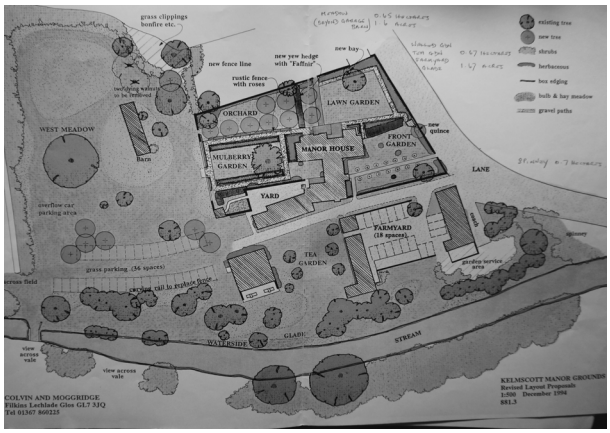

Figure 2 Restoration layout – 1994 (Colvin & Moggridge archives)

Figure 3 Front Garden - Period Image (LLGC)

Figure 4 Front Garden - Present day

Figure 5 Fafnir - Present day

Figure 6 Kitchen Garden -1897 (E.H. New)

Figure 7 Kitchen Garden - Period Image (LLGC)

Figure 8 Kitchen Garden - Present day

Figure 9 North Door - 1920's (LLGC)

Figure 10 North Door with Gazebo – Present day

Figure 11 Orchard - 1896 (F.H. Evans)

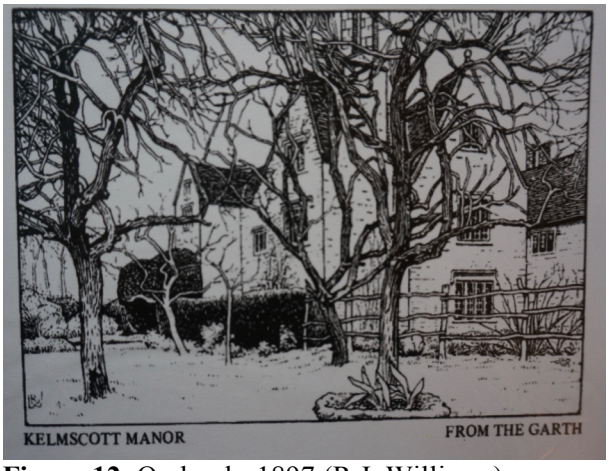

Figure 12 Orchard - 1897 (R.J. Williams)

Figure 13 Orchard – Present day

Figure 14 Pre-Mulberry – Date unknown (LLGC)

Figure 15 Mulberry – Date unknown (LLGC)

Figure 16 Mulberry – Present Day

Figure 17 Mulberry Garden- Present day

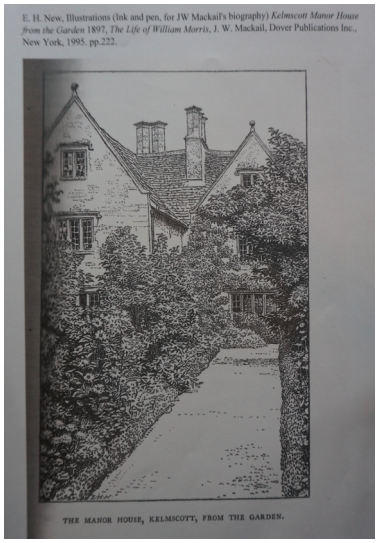

Figure 18 West Face Garden – 1897 **(**E.H. New)

Figure 19 West Face – Present day

Figure 20 Meadow – Present day

Figure 21 Gravetye Manor – Present day

Figure 22 Great Dixter – Present day

Figure 23 Sissinghurst White Garden – Present day

Figure 24 Herbal Drawing (Gerards 1597 Herbal) H Moggridge's copy.

Appendix 1

History of Kelmscott Manor

'*This many-gabled old house built by simple country folk of the long past times.*'[181] is how Morris introduces us to Kelmscott Manor, or at least its fictional counterpart from his utopian novel *News from Nowhere*.[182] It is the use of Kelmscott as the blueprint for his idealised homestead in this novel that gives us the clearest picture of the greatness of the impact that Kelmscott Manor had on his thinking, his work and ideologies.

Kelmscott Manor is not one of the great and grand country houses that have become the stomping ground of a pleasure seeking middle class public.[183] It is a house like many other, not even truly a manor by stature, simply the largest in the village, c1570[184(with later additions, unremarkable though no less beautiful for that. The type of country house that fits so comfortably in its surroundings that as Morris described, it appeared to have grown up out of the soil.[185(

For Morris, Kelmscott and its position in the Cotswold landscape, with the adjacent Thames connecting it to his London life both physically and psychologically, represented his ideal for man's role on the land in a pure and perfect form. His belief in 'man in the past, nature in the present'[186], the unity of past and future, of nature and art, of sincerity of form, of buildings and community,[187(of living sustainably as a rural community, a concept that is anathema to our

[181] W. Morris, 'News from Nowhere' (London: Thomas Nelson & Son, 1941) p.275
[182] Ibid
[183] L.J, Smith, 'Uses of Heritage', (London: Routledge, 2006) p.153
[184] J. Sherwood, N. Pevsner, 'Oxfordshire' (London: Penguin, 1974) p.666
[185] A.Crossley, p.114
[186] C.Wilmer(ed), W. Morris, 'News from Nowhere' (London: Penguin, 1993) p.364
[187] A. Crossley, p.110

modern suburban sprawl.

While William Morris' life could never really be lived at Kelmscott, with his multifaceted work keeping him in London, his daughter May's later life was very much lived at Kelmscott, and as a founding member of the Kelmscott women's institute she was entrenched in village life.

Upon her death in 1938 May bequethed Kelmscott Manor to Oxford University[188](with a clear vision of how she thought it might be used. Primarily as a house of rest for artists, men of letters, scholars and men of science.[189(Intending for it to be maintained and kept in a manner that reflected the time of her father, May clearly had a vision of Kelmscott as a place for admirers of her father to visit, to become almost a shrine to her father and his teachings.

The period in which the house was governed by Oxford University did not go particularly well, the outbreak of war made the journey and isolation of the house unappealing[190(and by 1962 when Kelmscott was passed into the hands of the Society of Antiquaries it was in a poor state of repair. During the 1960's it opened once a month with very few visitors, opening cautiously increased and visitor numbers rose, eventually reaching 15k in 2010 and 18k in 2011.[191(

Through this period however the gardens were virtually lost, during the Oxford University tenure the grounds had been mostly laid out to lawn.(see fig..) Undoubtedly at this point the Morris' gardens would have been overgrown and in a state of ill-repair, however the decision to turf over them destroyed any remaining evidence of the gardens as the Morris' knew them.

[188] M. Morris, 'The last will and testament' Kelmscott Archive
[189] M. Morris, 'Addendum to last will and testament' Kelmscott Archive
[190] Dr Kathy Haslam, curator at Kelmscott Manor. In interview with G Stoneystreet 31/1/17
[191] Kelmscott 'Conservation Management Plan' p.37

Appendix 2

Noel Kingsbury Interview

Noel Kingsbury's Montpellier Cottage Gardens in Herefordshire has been a laboratory of ideas, with experimental beds in which he has observed plant communities to give a better understanding of how plants can be grown together over a period of time, while minimising the input of labour.[192] As Kingsbury plans to leave Montpellier Cottage, these highly influential gardens are at great risk of being lost. Kingsbury however does not see that as a problem, for him, the legacy of the garden is what he has learned and shared in his books and lectures.[193] The garden survives through its outcomes of data and information that is available to future designers and plantsmen. This philosophy suggests that some element of genius loci is carried beyond a garden's boundary into its wider sphere of influence.

The interview for this paper took place at Montpellier where we also spent the afternoon plant surveying. This involved beds of herbaceous perennials and ornamental grasses that have grown on plots for seven years. Species were identified and mapped to show how they have evolved over the period and how the species have interacted with one another. This information is useful for garden designers, particularly those designing for public spaces that have limited maintenance finances. Knowledge of how plants will work as communities can minimise the need for maintenance and help to understand how a planting scheme will evolve over time. Along with the wider designed garden this research has made Montpellier a significant place in the world of plantsmen's gardens.

[192] Dr Noel Kingsbury, in interview with G. Stoneystreet. 9/10/17
[193] Dr Noel Kingsbury, in interview with G. Stoneystreet 9/10/17

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Interviews

Dr Kathy Haslam - Curator at Kelmscott Manor

Hal Moggridge OBE – Consultant, Colvin and Moggridge

John Watkins – Head of gardens and landscapes at English Heritage

Monique Wolak – National Trust advisor at Sissinghurst Gardens

Dr Noel Kingsbury- Garden writer, designer and plantsman

Tom Coward – Head Gardener at Gravetye Manor

Fiona Dennis- Head Gardener at Charleston Farmhouse

Dr Jan Woudstra - Landscape Historian, Sheffield University

Deborah Evans - Garden Historian

Kim Auston - Historic England

Rebecca Bevan – National Trust gardens researcher

Rhiannon Williams - Head Gardener Monks House NT

Stephanie Carter- Colvin and Moggridge Advisor

Celia James - Gardener Kelmscott Manor

Virginia Hinze – Landscape Architect

Candy Smit- Lost gardens of Heligan

Tessa Wild- Curator of Red House and author of 'William Morris and his palace of art'

Andy Mills- Head Gardener at Painshill

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